

DARK AGE BODIES

Gender and
Monastic
Practice in the
Early Medieval West
Lynda L. Coon



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Dark Age Bodies

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Dark Age Bodies

Gender and Monastic Practice in the Early Medieval West

Lynda L. Coon

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In memory of Suzanne Maberry
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Introduction

Dark Age Bodies

An image of an early medieval monk dressed in humble attire and kneeling under a vibrant red cross appears in Plate 1 of this book. The hands of the monk, graceful and eloquent, are extended in a gesture of supplication, and his tonsure signifies his world-renouncing status. Subjugated by the weight of the cross, the monk's body appears to lean on the words running left to right across the page. Within the contours of his body, bold red letters stand out and link him to the cross hovering over his head. The red letters form a separate poem within the longer series of verses moving across the manuscript in a horizontal line. That poem reads: "O Christ, in your clemency and your holiness, I beseech you to protect me, Hrabanus, on the Day of Judgment." The stanzas on the horizontal and vertical arms of the cross are identical: "O Wood, I pray to you, you who are an altar, that I may be carried up and placed on your heights." Poetry clarifies the meaning of the holy man's gesture: he is offering his body as a sacrifice at the onslaught of the apocalypse.¹

The folio is from an acrostic poem of the ninth century, Hrabanus Maurus's *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, a masterpiece that gives viewers a rare portrait of the artist. Hrabanus Maurus (ca. 780–856) was a leading figure in the intellectual and spiritual world of the Carolingian Empire. His acrostics were renowned for their visual and verbal intricacy, especially the author's unrivaled talent for hiding poems within poems to be deciphered by the learned eye.² Figures, such as the cross or the kneeling monk, serve as visual cues prompting viewers to find more verses in and around images. Hrabanus's figural poem also represents the Carolingian propensity for coupling classical forms and Christian themes. In this instance, the literary styles of the Romans, Horace, Lucan, Lucretius, and Virgil, glorify the crucifixion.³ Hrabanus himself participates in this union of the classical and

the Christian. He is both seer (*vates*) trained in heroic hexameter and monk, whose life is dominated by the cross. In his verse, Hrabanus calls on Christ to temper his desires, to eliminate his vices, and to replace his rebellious tongue with a pure mouth.⁴

The depiction of Hrabanus Maurus in figure 28 of *In Honor of the Holy Cross* exemplifies the major theme of *Dark Age Bodies*: the conception of the body in the early medieval enterprise of salvation. The book's chief task is to reconstruct the gender ideology of clerical masculinity through an investigation of early medieval readings of the body. It also considers the ritual, spatial, and liturgical performances of that body within the imaginative landscapes of same-sex ascetic communities in northern Europe, with a special emphasis on the Carolingian era (ca. 751–987). Investigation of the body compels the contemporary interpreter of early medieval Christianity to confront notions of gender created through ninth-century ascetic practice, especially the use of the liturgical voice in the making of monastic masculinity. Architecture is an essential component of this study because the ascetic body was mirrored in the sacred spaces constructed by monks. Finally, the monastic body expressed the imperial ambitions of the religious leadership of the Carolingian Empire.

The ensuing discussion demonstrates how the body of a monk served as a bridge between classical Rome and an encroaching Dark Age. Ascetic intellectuals believed that one particularly potent body part, the tongue, had the power to divide humanity into two opposite camps: those possessing Latin eloquence and those condemned to barbarous prattle. Pure Latin and fluent speech were prophylactics against secular savagery and the dark allures of the devil. The major textbook of the Carolingian era, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* (ca. 636), epitomizes the idea of the "Dark Age": the barbarous peoples of the empire, who were ignorant of the purity of the Latin language, corrupted Roman civilization through grammatical errors and uncouth speech.⁵ Carolingian writers believed that the Holy Spirit itself purifies the mouths of the most potent chanters in the empire's monasteries.⁶ Monastic tongues were objects of ritual blessings, and cutting off an abbot's tongue was a way of visibly declaring his impotence.⁷ It is appropriate then that the empire's abbots were "buried beneath the choir bells, recalling how their tongues, as dedicated cymbals of the Holy Spirit in that place, had summoned others to the *opus divinum*."⁸

Hagiographical texts promoted classicizing portraits of the rhetorically gifted tongues of holy men. A work by a Carolingian monastic scholar, Paschasius Radbertus's *Life of Saint Adalhard*, is a case in point. Adalhard is

the embodiment of Ciceronian eloquence. His voice is of such an exceptional quality that it caresses the minds of his audience, making them drunk with the splendors of scripture. Christ is born through the diction of the orator Adalhard, whose discourse is always unambiguous, brief, and lucid (*aperta valde, brevis ac lucida*); the saint's oratorical style is akin to that receiving the highest praise from classical theorists of rhetoric (*quod dictionis genus oratores summis extollunt laudibus*).⁹

The spiritual elite valued being well versed in texts on oratorical training as well as mastering the linguistic intricacies of the Latin language itself. This reflected the larger context of a ninth-century ecclesiastical reform movement aimed at clerical *correctio*, or educational improvement.¹⁰ Early medieval literary luminaries wrote expositions on Latin grammar that comfortably paired basic lessons on syntax—such as the differences among masculine, feminine, and neuter case endings—with classical and biblical examples. The ninth-century Carolingian reformer Smaragdus's treatise on Latin grammar uses the Roman comic Terence's bawdy play *The Eunuch* to explain how certain words can sound and be masculine (that is, *eunuchus*) even though their meaning suggests that they are actually "feminine." Smaragdus invokes the authority of scripture to persuade the skeptical student. The Bible, the Carolingian grammarian argues, employs the masculine ending (*-us*) for castrated men, and he cites the example of the Ethiopian eunuch (*vir Aetiops, eunuchus*) of Acts (8.27) to make the point: "hic non ait 'baptizavit eam,' sed 'eum.'" Smaragdus's willingness to gloss Roman comedies with passages from Christian scripture in the service of basic grammar lessons aimed at chaste pupils speaks to the innovative nature of Carolingian Latin instruction.¹¹

Carolingian grammarians also maintained that good Latin, perfected in monastic classrooms, offers a crucial pathway to the meditation of God.¹² Latin as linguistic avenue to the divine derives from classical views on the mystical capacity of grammar, for the Romans connected the mastery of language with the ability to understand the "more-than-human world."¹³ In early Christian communities, ecstatic speech enabled Christ's seers to transcend the corporeal by tasting the divine through the language of the heavens.¹⁴ As heirs to both classical and early Christian legacies regarding charismatic speech, Carolingian scholars aimed to recover a pure, non barbarous Latin. They ranked Latin as a sacred tongue along with Hebrew and Greek.¹⁵ In his epistle *On the Cultivation of Letters* (ca. 784–85), Charlemagne worries that atrocious Latin prevents inexperienced priests from channeling heavenly powers.¹⁶ In response to the emperor's anxiety over uncouth tongues

obstructing Christian salvation, clerical reformers advocated the study of grammar, philology, rhetoric, and orthography to perfect the linguistic performance of the Christian liturgy.¹⁷ Thus grammatical instruction was inextricably linked with the theater of the liturgy.¹⁸ The liturgy itself, Hrabanus writes, is replete with “gifts of the Thunderer,” and, as such, custodianship of those gifts is a highly charged activity.¹⁹ By the ninth century, faultless Latin had emerged as a status marker, creating a mandarin priestly guild set apart from lesser clerics and from virtually all of the laity, save the inner circles of royal courts.²⁰ Mandarin Latin, which was increasingly distinct from its rustic (and eventually Romance) counterpart, provided its connoisseur eminence based on the overall use of the tongue, not just in eloquent speaking, but also in singing, eating, drinking, being silent, and laughing.²¹

This book argues that the monastic body and its expressive tongue provide new insights into familiar themes in Carolingian history: the revival of classicism in the empire, clerical reform movements, and church-state relations. The seven chapters of the book are organized around three recurring subjects: body, building, and practice. These three topics illustrate how monastic constructions of gender center on continuities between classical and early medieval perceptions of the body, the use of the body in the celebration of the liturgy, and the location of the body in sacred space. The gender paradigms explored in this book are idiosyncratic to the all-male cloister. They are not models of gender readily transferable into other social contexts, such as the royal hunt, the monarchical court, domestic spaces of the secular aristocracy, female ascetic communities, or even the palaces of bishops. Nor do the classicizing modes of gender covered here reflect the somatic styles of all churchmen, especially those of married clerics and cathedral canons, who miss the mark of bodily inviolability prized by cloistered monks. The seven chapters of this book focus on a precise reading of gender fashioned by a scholarly circle of ascetic men, who influenced the philosophical and medical conception of bodies, female and male, consecrated and lay.

Chapter 1 of *Dark Age Bodies* surveys the life of Hrabanus Maurus to delineate the political, intellectual, and artistic contexts crucial to the book as a whole. Each chapter of the book touches on the life of Hrabanus, the final one focusing exclusively on a gendered reading of his signature work, *In Honor of the Holy Cross*. Hrabanus’s life offers the non specialist an introduction to Carolingian monasticism, the educational system of the cloister, the architectural ambitions of monastic builders, and the conflicts between abbots and lay rulers. Hrabanus was an exemplary figure whose encyclopedic

output is relevant to all the significant themes of his time and of this book. *Dark Age Bodies* is not, however, a biography of Hrabanus Maurus nor is it simply an analysis of his writings. Hrabanus remains a central character in the Carolingian ecclesiastical world, and that is precisely why he is featured here.

Chapter 2 builds on the biographical sketch of Hrabanus Maurus by considering the environment of religious reform he himself experienced firsthand as a monk of the monastery of Fulda, located in modern-day Hesse in Germany. The chapter includes an overview of the Carolingian monastic reform movement and its attempt to impose one rule and one custom (*una regula, una consuetudo*) throughout the empire's monasteries. Additionally, Chapter 2 examines how the Carolingian enterprise of collecting (texts, alphabets, relics, building typologies, ancient statuary, and educational theories) subordinated past ascetic styles to the hegemony of the Benedictine Rule (henceforth, the "Rule").²² The chapter also explores the Carolingian commitment to classicism as evidenced both in the built environment of the monastery and in the classicizing practices of monks. As a whole, the chapter considers how body, building, and practice work together to propagandize the Carolingian mastery of history, both Christian and classical.²³

Chapter 3 concentrates on a text venerated by Hrabanus Maurus and taking center stage in the controversies surrounding Carolingian monastic reform: the sixth-century rule attributed to the Italian holy man Benedict of Nursia. In an unprecedented move, Chapter 3 genders the Rule by examining the enduring legacy of classical models of gender over the daily practices and liturgical performances of monks. The chapter maintains that the disciple of the Rule is an heir of the ancient Roman orator, whose success or failure rested on the power of his speech, his license to speak in ceremonial venues, his reputation for corporeal self-mastery, and his bodily inviolability. Gendered practices of the Rule divide monks into two groups: those who are immersed in the body and those who partake of the nature of the divine, a disembodied voice.²⁴ The division between body and voice reflects the supremacy of the liturgy in the Rule and the survival of the art of classical oratory in a new setting: the early medieval monastery.

Carolingian commentators on the Rule intensify the classical foundations of monastic gender and are the subject of Chapter 4. Hrabanus Maurus once exhorted the holy men of the empire to conform to the influential definition of the successful orator by Quintilian (ca. 35–100): He ought to be "a good man, skilled in speaking."²⁵ Hrabanus asserts that since classical

orators had observed this characterization, it is much more important that Christian altar servants follow their example.²⁶ Commentaries on the Rule written by Hrabanus's contemporaries Hildemar of Civate (d. 850) and Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel (d. 830) extend the reach of classical culture into the Carolingian monastery.²⁷ The two commentators borrow from ancient medical conceptions of the body to distinguish the masculine from the feminine in the monastery, and they both express anxiety over same-sex activities between monks. In the arena of classical education, Smaragdus summons the ancient Roman lexicon of effeminacy to vilify monks who do not live up to Benedictine models of virility. Hildemar's commentary takes us directly into the monastic schoolroom, where future intellectual leaders and liturgical celebrants were trained in the arts of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic. Hildemar calls on the Roman art of oratory to instruct monks in manly styles of speech, thereby creating an elite group of cantors in the monastery distinguished by their penetrating voices, which break the barrier between the heavens and the earth. By the ninth century, chant had emerged both as a marker of status in the monastery and as an audible proof of a monk's masculinity.²⁸ Ultimately, Chapter 4 explains how the bodies of these masculine cantors relate symbolically to the architecture of the cloister.

Chapter 5 furthers discussion of the contribution of architecture to the making of monastic gender by scrutinizing three monuments of ninth-century spirituality: the westwork at the abbey of Corvey, the circular crypt built by the monks of Fulda, and the sacred biography of Hrabanus Maurus's mentor, Abbot Eigil, which applies bodily metaphors to sacred space. All these artifacts verify that the gendered practices of the Benedictine Rule manifest themselves in a variety of artistic forms. In the early Middle Ages, the monastic westwork served as the major entryway into the monastery; therefore, the space was decidedly open to the outside world. This fortress functioned both as a tower of song where monks chanted angelic liturgies and as a space where virginal monastic bodies mingled perilously with the carnal bodies of women and laymen. At Corvey, frescoes of monstrous women and mythological beasts adorn the interior space of the monks' westwork. Gender theory helps to explain why the monastic leadership of Corvey chose to include a pagan iconographic repertoire in a building devoted to the godlike powers of the monastic voice. In a similar vein, the *Life of Eigil* illustrates how monastic and biblical notions of gender are essential to the political understanding of the saint's life within the broader, court culture of the empire.²⁹ In the case of the crypt at Fulda, monastic constructions of the

body relate directly to the nature of architectural design and allegorical significance. All three sources examined in this chapter—westwork, crypt, and sacred biography—spell out how monastic gender extends beyond the realm of practice to embrace the visual and literary cultures created by monks.

Chapter 6 expands on the theme of monastic gender and the visual arts by turning to one of the most famous manuscripts of the early medieval era: the Plan of Saint Gall (ca. 830).³⁰ Chapter 6 genders the Plan of Saint Gall (henceforth the “Plan”), a first in the scholarly record. A gendered space is one that fosters, enhances, or mirrors the culturally prescribed gender of its inhabitants.³¹ In this instance, the Plan reflects the gender hierarchy produced by monastic practice. To uncover the extent to which the Plan relates to constructions of monastic gender, the chapter follows a virtual pilgrim through the monastery depicted in the manuscript. The way in which the body of such a pilgrim would experience the space while moving from one section of the monastery to another is critical to the gender implications of the Plan. Notions of gender confront the virtual visitor from the monumental towers positioned at the entryway, to the classicizing basilica with its array of altars dedicated to female and male martyrs, to the foursquare space of the all-male cloister. The path taken by the pilgrim illuminates the major divisions in the monastery: secular and spiritual; feminine and masculine; impoverished and noble; young and old. These neat, structural oppositions are, however, more complicated than they might seem at first glance because there are a number of spaces on the Plan where the sacred and profane bump up against one another or where the feminine and the masculine collide. The Plan makes it clear that the foursquare design of the monks’ cloister, with its central, green space framed on all sides by a covered walkway, is emblematic of monastic masculinity. A gendered reading of the Plan of Saint Gall substantiates the role of visual sources in the fostering of ecclesiastical authority in the Carolingian Empire.

The final chapter of the book continues two of the themes highlighted in the investigation of the Plan of Saint Gall: the foursquare space of the cloister as a symbol of monastic virility and the virtual qualities of Carolingian spirituality. The chapter centers on Hrabanus Maurus’s figural poem *In Honor of the Holy Cross* to illustrate these two topics. In the realm of gender theory, Chapter 7 adds a new dimension: the role of biblical exegesis in constructions of monastic masculinity. Examining the theater of virtual spirituality, the chapter argues that the movement of the viewer’s eyes along the curves and lines of Hrabanus’s illuminated manuscript is akin to the virtual

pilgrim's navigation of the basilica on the Plan of Saint Gall. Additionally, this last chapter of *Dark Age Bodies* brings together many of the motifs covered in earlier sections of the book: the role of classicism in the literary and visual worlds of the Carolingians, the relationship between artistic forms and the monastic body, chant as a vehicle of spiritual authority, and the competitive nature of lay and ecclesiastical corporeal styles. Furthermore, the chapter speculates that Hrabanus's acrostics share in rabbinical mysticism, especially the doctrine of the incarnate Torah. The analysis also determines how *In Honor of the Holy Cross* reflects the practice of memory training in the monastery. In all, Hrabanus's figural poems articulate the imperialistic ambitions of the cloister, and Chapter 7 makes the case that the only way to comprehend fully Hrabanus's *figurae* is to study them within the spatial, ritual, and gendered practices of Carolingian monks.

The seven chapters of *Dark Age Bodies* cover a diversity of source material, including texts, such as poetry, treatises on grammar and rhetoric, biblical exegesis, monastic rules, saints' lives, encyclopedic compendiums, and medical writings. These texts are then paired with visual media, including illuminated manuscripts, architectural diagrams, monumental edifices, and cloister design. The book is interdisciplinary in scope and builds on scholarship in the fields of architectural history, cultural anthropology, religious studies, classical studies, and gender studies. From the discipline of classical studies, the book is indebted to pioneering works in gender theory put forward by scholars of ancient Rome, who examine the relationship among classical oratory, architecture, and the body as well as the medical readings of masculinity and femininity in antiquity.³² In the realm of the built environment, the book is inspired by fundamental surveys in early medieval architectural history as well as broader studies of architectural theory, which focus on the experience of space through the medium of the body.³³ The book also follows the methodological advice of anthropologists of religion, who analyze religious practice through the interplay of body, space, and ritual activity.³⁴

From the field of religious studies, the book incorporates scholarship on gender, the body, and asceticism in late antiquity.³⁵ The book also takes into account research on the intellectual traditions of the early medieval cloister, including the study of Latin grammar, rhetoric, and exegesis.³⁶ It employs studies of the symbolic meanings of ascetic speech as well as discussions of the monastic craft of memory.³⁷ Chapters 2–4 of this book concur with the opinion of revisionist historians of monasticism who stress that the Benedictines never formed an order in the early Middle Ages as they eventually

would much later.³⁸ Although Carolingian monks such as Hrabanus Maurus identified themselves as practitioners of the Rule and votaries of Saint Benedict, monasticism in the empire was actually made up of a diversity of practices and local traditions. There never was one “order” of monks in the early Middle Ages; nor was there one universal identity of what it meant to be a Carolingian “Benedictine.” Early medieval monasticism is thus an example of a religious orthopraxy or a spiritual system in which habits centered on the body trump adherence to the written letter of an authoritative text such as the Rule of Benedict.³⁹

The book approaches gender as a lifelong negotiation, shaped by (modern) contingencies of age, class, sexual identity, nationality, imperialism, ethnicity, and even the physical location of the body in its environment.⁴⁰ According to its chief theorists, gender is never a free-floating category that can be deployed in isolation from other vectors, especially class, age, and ethnicity. With regard to early medieval monastic gender, religious affiliation was the most important component in the gender mix, followed closely by ethnicity, age, class, kin group, ritual purity, and the positioning of the body in space. The constructions of gender under scrutiny in this book worked to advertise and sustain the unique and superior qualities of ascetic virility over secular modes of masculinity. Ascetic theorists of masculinity based their vision of virility on the degree to which a man had transcended the desires of his body. Because it was a competitive style, monastic gender does not represent the reality of the close relations between ascetics and lay elites, who shared family lineages and forged social and political networks. Nor does it exemplify the day-to-day experiences of most monks in the empire. Current research in the field of early medieval history has established that the line between the clerical and the lay was not so starkly drawn.⁴¹ The monastic paradigm could leak over into secular space because at times Carolingian rulers envisioned the inner realm of the palace as a cloister.⁴² Conversely, aristocratic laymen parodied the abstemious lives of holy men by breaking into cloisters disguised as monks and aping the ascetics during their ritual processions around sacred spaces.⁴³ Members of the secular elite were not merely passive objects of clerical education. Both women and men contributed actively to the intellectual culture shared between cloister and palace.⁴⁴ Whatever the reality of the relations between the secular and the sacred in the empire, Carolingian churchmen consistently exploited monastic constructions of gender, with their roots in biblical and classical perceptions of the body, to assert the political power of the monastery.

To further this aspiration, clerical elites forged a model of gender that sought to feminize lay male bodies through textual, ritual, and spatial means, reflecting the rivalry between lay and priestly groups. Secular men, churchmen consistently underscore, are prisoners of bodily fluxes and consuming libidos; their bodies are like those of women in their excessive lust and immoderate acts. A case in point is when Hrabanus Maurus cautioned the ruler of the eastern half of the Frankish empire, Louis the German, that a man could not rightly hold the title *vir* if he clung to effeminate, secular pleasures.⁴⁵ The word Hrabanus chose to characterize this worldly inclination is *mollities*, a classicizing term carrying with it meanings of sexual passivity, effeminacy, and softness.⁴⁶ Hrabanus volleyed *mollities* at Louis within the context of the political conflicts waged between monarchs and holy men in the mid-ninth century. King Louis had exiled Hrabanus to a mountaintop ascetic retreat in 842 after the abbot—now stripped of his prestigious office—chose the wrong side in the wars fought among the heirs of Louis the Pious. In addition to the body of Louis the German hovering on the brink of secular softness, female bodies compose an important part of this study. But reminiscent of the lay male body, the body of a woman exists in the minds of the male ascetics writing the gendered script as a static, defiled object against which the purified priestly body is interpreted. At the same time, a major premise of this book is that female bodies haunt male ascetic bodies and that this figurative haunting is at the core of clerical visions of monastic gender.

Like women, laymen ostensibly pollute the body politic of the monastery, where even uttering secular names or speaking in the vernacular by Latin experts is forbidden. Hildemar of Civate, an authority on Carolingian monastic practice, counsels cloistered men to be waited on only by their fellow monks, not by the laity: “Is it possible that a hand or foot or eye can serve a body but not be a member of that body? Then how much more impossible is it for a layman or a canon, who are not members of the monastic body, to serve the monks who are?”⁴⁷ Only in cases of necessity should canons and laymen minister to monks by doing menial labors, such as washing the garments of the sick or carving their meat. Hildemar’s harsh stance against canons reflects the larger ninth-century reform program of separating monastic identity from that of cathedral clergy.⁴⁸ Monastic practice is singular, Smaragdus emphasizes, for monks follow a “peculiar style of worship,” and their manner of life is in stark opposition to worldly techniques.⁴⁹ Other monastic chroniclers applaud the asceticism of monastic houses that forbid

lay dignitaries and canons to enter their cloisters either by foot or roving eye. One churchman notes how the monastery of Saint Gall polices its interior spaces: “No one, not even the most powerful canon or layman of the secular world, was permitted to enter the monks’ enclosure or even to glance at it.”⁵⁰ In this perspective, the gaze, voice, or body of a man not properly socialized within the rigors of monastic practice potentially could infect the sacrosanct spaces of the cloister.

All the texts cited above are products of the monastic imagination. Their use in understanding the lay body remains incomplete and at best beholden to the ecclesiastical vision of that body. It is equally true that these texts mirror priestly anxieties over the church’s submission to lay elites as well as the danger posed to monasteries by temporal lords. Hildemar of Civate instructs his monastic pupils on the etiquette of bowing to secular potentates, whether throwing the body into full prostration when receiving a king, bending one knee for a visiting queen, or inclining the head for a count.⁵¹ Hildemar betrays a degree of obsequiousness toward secular authority. A monk, he explains to his students, should speak to worldly princes with a submissive voice. Furthermore, any monk assigned to greet such men should do so dressed in fine apparel since high-ranking visitors find rustic, monastic garb distasteful.⁵² When traveling outside the monastery, a monk may dine with a worldly lord so as not to offend him because such an affront may lead to disastrous results. The *magister*, or headmaster, of Civate additionally offers advice to future monastic founders, warning them not to build monasteries near the courts of earthly magnates as doing so may pose additional hardships to their foundations.⁵³ Hildemar’s *Expositio*, like other works of its genre, reveals the competitive nature of early medieval gender, where on the one hand clerical writers promote the superiority of monastic masculinity, but, on the other, they frequently yield to the greater authority of lay potentates.

The focus on monastic masculinity in this book brings the body to the forefront of the study of early medieval Christianity.⁵⁴ In doing so, the book takes scholarship on early medieval monasticism in new directions. The body was a visible sign of the rift between the civilized and the barbaric, the Christian and the pagan, the consecrated and the unconsecrated, the masculine and the feminine.⁵⁵ As such, the monastic body both calls attention to the continuity between the classical and early medieval worlds and underscores the fact that churchmen perceived themselves as consciously thwarting the uncivilized effects of a Dark Age.⁵⁶ The practice of monasticism became a vehicle for performing transcendence over the dark appetites of the body,

especially sexual desire. Therefore, the virginal monks of the Carolingian Empire occupied a ritual and political space held by eunuchs in the Byzantine East. Like eunuchs, Western monks formed a courtly caste of males who visibly resisted normative sexuality, defined in this context as the production of legitimate heirs, in order to devote themselves entirely to a male deity.⁵⁷

Following the desert fathers of late antiquity who envisioned sacred space as a metaphor for the purity of the ascetic body, early medieval monks linked their bodies with the numinous spaces in which they circulated.⁵⁸ By the ninth century the cloister had become a symbol of the ascetic body—both body and cloister were closed off to the lures of the world. Sacred space equally served as a theater for accentuating the liturgical authority of the monastic tongue in basilicas where lay voices were muted during the celebration of the mass.⁵⁹ At the center of these liturgical celebrations was the “wounded, resplendent body of the crucified God.”⁶⁰ For monks, the wounded body of the Savior was an object of meditation, as Hrabanus Maurus’s *In Honor of the Holy Cross* illustrates. At the same time, monks embodied Christ crucified by wearing Jesus “scars” (*stigmata*, Galatians 6.17) on their backs, either physically through the lashings associated with penitential discipline or figuratively through the practices of self-abnegation associated with the Rule.⁶¹ Like the body of Christ, the body of an individual monk was itself an object of sacrifice. The altar was the hallowed center of the monastery. It was the place where parents offered their young sons to the church and the site where monks were ritually wed to Christ.

With its exploration of body, space, and practice, *Dark Age Bodies* unearths the ritual framework behind Hrabanus Maurus’s act of self-sacrifice visualized in Plate 1. The subsequent chapters argue that Carolingian monastic practice structures the bodies of holy men as pure sacrifices consecrated at the altar of a metaphorical tabernacle. Chapter 1’s discussion of the life of Hrabanus Maurus confirms the extent to which Carolingian monks understood their own bodies as holocaust offerings on a heavenly altar, both at the beginning of life and at the end of days.⁶²

Chapter 1

“Hrabanus Is My Name”

Hrabanus Maurus was once a celebrated name. During his own time, contemporaries hailed him as the foremost biblical scholar in the Carolingian Empire. In a letter (ca. 854) written by Lothar I to Hrabanus, the ruler acclaims the monk as ranking with Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great.¹ Nor was Hrabanus forgotten as generations passed. In the early fourteenth century, Dante, who longed for restoration of the Carolingian Empire, places Hrabanus in the fourth heaven of the *Paradiso*, part of a virtuoso circle of prophetic seers who dwell in the sphere of the sun.² Among “the souls that form this company,” the poet names Bonaventure, Anselm, Aquinas, and Joachim di Fiore. He records less stellar luminaries as well, such as Nathan, a Hebrew prophet, Donatus, a Roman grammarian, and Peter the Book-Devourer, a celebrated bibliophile and ecclesiastical historian. Dante’s nomination of Hrabanus as the only early medieval figure in this section of the fourth heaven is fitting, for he is joined with scholars who, taken together, share his encyclopedic interests: theology, grammar, prophecy, church history, biblical exegesis, mysticism, and, not least, “book-devouring.” Dante’s certification of Hrabanus’s stature helped perpetuate his fame, and later admirers included Francesco da Barberino, Vincent of Beauvais, Thomas Aquinas, and Albrecht of Brandenburg.³

In the fourteenth century, Dante captured impeccably Hrabanus’s intellectual tastes and pursuits. In his own day, Abbot Hrabanus was a connoisseur of antiquities, such as verse, texts, relics, architectural styles, musical theory, and even ritual and oratorical practices; these activities place him within the larger cultural and ascetic contexts of Carolingian practices of collecting, the subject of Chapter 2.⁴ Hrabanus looked to poetic verse as the pure embodiment of the Word within a larger early medieval world commit-

ted to the understanding of grammar and language as gateways to the ark of heaven. He also projected the rhetoric of the body of Roman oratory onto the art of Christian preaching. Like his predecessors at Fulda, he was an inspired visual designer, who worked in both monumental and small-scale media. Finally, Hrabanus handed on to his intellectual heirs the “musical rhetoric of the preaching body” in which body parts are likened to musical (and biblical) instruments—trumpets, harps, and drums. Hrabanus’s ninth-century forays into the mystical world of biblical instruments culminated in a late medieval aesthetic of “Christ as a harp and his exposed ribs and distended sinews as its resonant strings.”⁵

As an influential exegete, Hrabanus propelled the Fulda community of over six hundred monks into one of the most privileged intellectual circles of Western Christendom.⁶ In doing so, he won political and spiritual authority for his monastery. Above all, Hrabanus’s willingness to project his theological readings of the human body onto multimedia canvases (verse, text, art, architecture, music, ritual practice) and into cross-cultural contexts (Germanic, Roman, Hebrew, Christian) establishes him as the most provocative and versatile somatic theorist of the early medieval era.⁷ This chapter surveys the political, intellectual, and artistic aspects of the life of Hrabanus Maurus in order to frame the gendered, ritual, and visual analyses covered in the remaining sections of the book. Subsequent chapters all touch on the life and works of Hrabanus, the final one focusing exclusively on his poetic masterpiece *In Honor of the Holy Cross* (ca. 810–14).

Exploration of the life of the Carolingian master of the monastic body must begin with his name: Hrabanus Maurus. To commence with Hrabanus’s name is to follow the sage advice of the greatest of medieval encyclopedic compilers, Isidore of Seville, who counsels monks that decoding *nomina* leads to an understanding of the true essence of objects.⁸ The poet’s name also speaks to the diverse intellectual traditions of the Carolingian cloister.⁹ “Hrabanus” is a Latinized form of the Old High German *Hrafn* (“raven”), or Old Norse *Rabe* (“crow”).¹⁰ It remained a popular name in the early medieval Frankish realm, surviving long after the Christianization of northern Europe. The raven is an attribute of the ancient deity Odin, god of war and death, poetry and wisdom. The symbolic association between bird and god hinges on the reputation of ravens as menacing scavengers on the field of battle, where they consume the corpses of the war dead. After devouring the flesh of fallen soldiers, the raven, functioning as a kind of avian ferryman, carries the image of the heroic slain to Odin.¹¹ The Germanic peoples of

antiquity adorned their bodies with gold bracteates bearing images of ravens or Odin and functioning to ward off evil.¹²

At first glance, the derivation of Hrabanus's Germanic name is somewhat unexpected due to its non-Christian roots. On closer scrutiny, however, the link between Odin's ferrier of souls and Fulda's *corvulus* (Latin, "little raven") makes sense within the cross-cultural educational framework of the early medieval cloister. In the standard textbook of Hrabanus's day, the *Etymologies*, Isidore of Seville notes that the mercenary raven (Latin, *corvus*) seeks the eye first from the flesh of the newly dead.¹³ In the realm of slaughter, one Roman general, Valerius "the Corvus," took his name from the miraculous intervention of a bellicose raven on the field of battle. The bird dove down and mangled Valerius's Gallic enemies with its claws and beak.¹⁴ Following Valerius, a Merovingian bishop, Bertram of Le Mans, "was the bearer of a Frankish warrior name, 'Glorious Raven,' from the great bird which pecked at the bodies of the dead on the battlefield."¹⁵

Classical writers also connect the raven with the prophetic arts, for the bird is considered sacred to the god Apollo and immortalized in the celestial sphere in the constellation Corvus. Roman augurs interpret the flight patterns of ravens as indicative of favorable omens.¹⁶ In contrast, Carolingian stargazers scanned the skies for any appearance of the Corvus, for, in Frankish eyes, this constellation heralded misfortune.¹⁷ In Hebrew scripture, God commands ravens to carry bread and meat to the famished prophet Elijah (1 Kings 17.6), thereby underscoring the bird's status as winged courier between the heavens and the earth. In both Hebrew and Christian scriptures ravens are objects of God's special care (Job 38.41; Psalm 147.9; Luke 12.24). Negatively speaking, Roman poets characterize the *corvus* as a treacherous or dissolute bird (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.531–632). In a similar vein, ancient Hebrew writers underscore the raven's polluted nature: the scavenger birds prey on the flesh of corpses, especially the eye, and they haunt the ruins of corrupt cities destroyed by God's wrath (Leviticus 11.15; Deuteronomy 14.14; Proverbs 30.17; Isaiah 34.11).

As heir to Germanic, classical, and Hebrew readings of the *corvus*, Hrabanus extends the interpretative framework of the bird's metaphorical roles by allegorizing the creature's propensity toward good or evil. The raven, Hrabanus writes in his encyclopedic compilation *De rerum naturis* (840s), embodies the blackness of sin, but the bird's gloomy aspect also summons up the spiritual image of the splendid dark tresses of the bridegroom from the Song of Songs: "His locks are wavy, black as a raven" (5.11).¹⁸ The Fulda poet

thus mitigates the creature's earthly darkness by pointing to its future promise of celestial beauty. The *corvus* is a flexible, exegetical moniker for Hrabanus, because the bird's *nomen* participates in multiple readings of the resurrection of the flesh, mediation between heaven and earth, prophecy and poetry, the transformative power of sin, and humanity's redemptive potential.

Hrabanus's mentor Alcuin of York gave the young monk the name *corvulus* when he entered the elite scholarly group of young "birds," the precious, intellectual stars of Charlemagne's court: the monastic cock (Adalhard), the soaring eagle (Arn of Salzburg), the wastrel cuckoo (Dodo), and the nest-making sparrow (Alcuin).¹⁹ Alcuin even refers poetically to his scholarly environment at Tours as his "beloved nest" (*nidus amatus*), where he stuffs the "gaping, greedy beaks" of his demanding "chicks" with grains of piety.²⁰ At the bird nest, Christ changes into the height-loving eagle (*aquila*), who exercises dominion over an earthly discipleship of birds, an aviary command shadowed on earth by Alcuin, the master of boy-birds.²¹ Both Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans, a Carolingian exegete and poet, immortalize this gregarious flock of scholar-birds in a series of court poems and epistles.²² Hrabanus is the "little raven" of Alcuin's bird nest, and the Anglo-Saxon magister adds the name "Maurus" to that of the *corvulus* to memorialize the love shared between Saint Benedict of Nursia and his beloved disciple Maurus, embodied generations later in the tender bond between Alcuin and his star Frankish pupil.²³

Magister Hrabanus

Hrabanus Maurus, prophetic poet and penitential monk, first met Alcuin when he was in his late teens (ca. 798/9).²⁴ These early encounters between magister and disciple took place within the lively academic environment of Charlemagne's court. In fact, Hrabanus entered this elite society as a "young blood" of the imperial circle.²⁵ He was born in 783/4 at Mainz,²⁶ an old Roman stronghold and later Frankish walled city.²⁷ Mainz is located approximately ninety miles from the monastery of Fulda, where Hrabanus lived for over fifty years (ca. 788–842). The monastery was built over the site of an abandoned Merovingian fort, which had occupied the remains of an earlier Roman-style *villa rustica* overlooking the River Fulda.²⁸ Fulda's position at the juncture of key routes fanning out to the eastern half of the Carolingian Empire made the abbey's location of great military and strategic importance,

especially for the movement of Frankish troops east of the Rhine. Hrabanus's parents, who were members of the Frankish nobility, presented their young son as a holocaust offering (*oblatus*) to Fulda's sacrificial altar, perhaps as early as 788.

Two monastic charters from 788 provide information on Hrabanus's family: the names of the oblate's parents, his father Walaram and his mother Waltrata, the mention of siblings, including a sister Meginrata, who became a nun, and a brother Guntram, who eventually inherited his father's secular career.²⁹ Hrabanus's parents offered their young son to the "church of Saint Boniface constructed on the River Fulda" during the abbacy of Baugulf (ca. 779–802). The charters also refer to a familial residence within the walls of the city of Mainz, which was to cede to the monastery of Fulda after the death of Hrabanus and his parents along with an estate belonging to Hrabanus's mother, Waltrata. Hrabanus's father, Walaram, enjoyed a spiritual bond with the community of monks at Fulda, and he frequently traveled there on pilgrimage and served as one of the monastery's principal donors.³⁰

Walaram's decision to donate one of his sons to Fulda must be read within the nobleman's larger, lifelong project of enriching that ascetic community. During the period circa 788–804, Hrabanus received instruction at his father's spiritual haven, Fulda, remained a minor figure in the scholarly court culture of Charlemagne's reign, and was ordained as a deacon circa 801.³¹ He entered the monastery during the abbacy of Baugulf, the recipient of one of the most famous documents produced during the reign of Charlemagne. In *On the Cultivation of Letters*, the emperor exhorts the abbot of Fulda to patronize a group of gifted scholars, those rare men able to probe the mysteries of scripture, to teach the exegetical arts, and to encourage students in this salvific endeavor.³²

The leadership of Fulda sent the artistic Hrabanus along with his classmate Hatto to join the erudite circle of biblical exegetes and poets working under the tutelage of Alcuin, abbot of Saint Martin's at Tours (ca. 802).³³ At Tours, Hrabanus acquired a taste for the precocious court culture of Charlemagne's reign, in which gifted students sought out esoteric knowledge from manuscript sources, including Anglo-Saxon *computus* and exegesis, Jewish history and antiquities, and Roman poetry and oratory. Hrabanus also was part of an erotic (albeit ascetic) world wherein celibate men exchanged sexually charged poems and amorous epithets.³⁴ The poem Alcuin addressed to his student Arn of Salzburg conveys the erotic subculture of the Carolingian monastic school. Alcuin writes that his love for Arn has penetrated his heart.

Nothing, Alcuin stresses, not even the Alps, will hinder the Anglo-Saxon scholar “from always licking at [Arn’s] innards” (*semper tua viscera lingat*).³⁵ In a letter, Alcuin expresses his desire to kiss Arn with tightly pursed lips, not only on the eyes, ears, and mouth, but also repeatedly on the hands and feet, digit by digit.³⁶

Alcuin’s poem opens the possibility of looking in two directions. On the one hand, the eroticism of Alcuin’s language stems from the Song of Songs tradition of mystical language; on the other hand, that very tradition reveals a “queer space” where actual erotic attachments and affections may be safely articulated.³⁷ Alcuin’s choice of the verb (*lingo*, *lingere*, “to lick”) is revealing. In classical Latin the verb *lingo* is tainted by the tongue’s use in oral sex acts.³⁸ As an accomplished Latinist, Alcuin would have been aware of the connotations of *lingo*. At the very least, his use of the verb is highly suggestive. Alcuin’s willingness to place himself in the position of an elder man who desires to lick the “fleshy parts” of a younger disciple reverses the hierarchy of the monastic classroom, where teachers are always on top. In so doing, the poem intimates that the author is engaging in more than metaphorical discourse. He comes perilously close to communicating openly his same-sex desires. In his epistles to Hrabanus, Alcuin conveys great affection but no erotic imagery as he does in the letter to Arn. The magister hails his star *discipulus* as Saint Benedict’s holy *puer* and entreats his favorite apprentice Hrabanus to “live happily with your boys and carry on in the goblet of charity.”³⁹

In one of the several dedicatory poems to his first and most famous work, *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, Hrabanus, Alcuin’s “little raven” and “holy boy,”⁴⁰ provides his audiences with rare, autobiographical remarks on his scholarly sojourn at Tours. Writing in the voice of his mentor Alcuin and addressing his verses to Saint Martin, the patron of Tours, Hrabanus gives reasons for his pedagogical exile to Alcuin’s famous “bird nest”:

As everyone knows when I [Alcuin] was a custodian and lowly minister
 Reading the holy dogma of our own church,
 I taught that boy [Hrabanus] with hunger for the divine word,
 By means of advice for ethics and instruction for wisdom.
 Indeed he himself is a Frank by birth,
 And also an inhabitant of the forest of Buchonia
 Sent to this place to learn the words of God.
 For his own abbot, the rector of the flock at Fulda

Directed him to this place to your dwellings, O Father [Martin]
 So that he as a student might read with me the art of meter,
 And so that he—triumphing—might be prepared, with suitable
 ceremony, for Holy Scripture.⁴¹

Poetry serves here as a vehicle for the practice of early medieval monastic autobiography.⁴² By choosing poetry as a medium for self-reflection, Hrabanus fashions himself as a Frankish heir to Eastern Christendom's masters of autobiographical verse, Cappadocian writer Gregory of Nazianzus and Byzantine hymnologist Romanos the Melodist.⁴³ Hrabanus's verses also reveal the Carolingian penchant for pairing the cherished "art of meter" with the disciplined and ethical study of Holy Scripture, two components of the poet's education as a monk. Hrabanus's dedicatory poem offers its author an occasion to project to his cultivated lay and clerical audiences a carefully manufactured image of his adolescence. The author is confident of the singularity of his achievement. His intellectual self-assurance prompts him to scatter the letters of his own name, Magnentius Hrabanus Maurus, throughout the lines of the verse preface, indeed at every eighth word of every eighth line (the number eight being a signifier of the Resurrection) (Figure 1.1).⁴⁴ At the same time, word scattering allows Hrabanus to subsume himself in his work as thoroughly as his name is inserted in the verses; he is secondary or marginal to his literary accomplishments.

Hrabanus chooses the Latin verb *spargo* ("to scatter") to characterize his highly calculated positioning of letters on the illustrated vellum page.⁴⁵ Therefore, what seems to be a work of vast technical expertise and precision is described by the author almost as if it were a form of augury. The poet scatters the words "randomly" on the page and allows the cosmos to line them up in proper order. God, who knows all, will decode his achievement. In this context, the verse code is a form of prayer, a supplication. Hrabanus also scatters a short phrase (at every eighth word of every eighth line) testifying to his sole authorship of the work (*hoc opus fecit*).⁴⁶ Hrabanus's decision to insert himself into the verbal puzzle of his figural poem suggests a certain degree of self-conscious humility. He is there, yet not there, named and not named, central and peripheral. His opus thus is a sort of antic gesture, a *jeu d'esprit*—an ingenuity he could not suppress as well as a clever display of which he was proud.

In the poet's own words, Hrabanus is a child insatiable for the Word, and as such, the gifted "holy boy" metamorphoses into Alcuin's intellectual

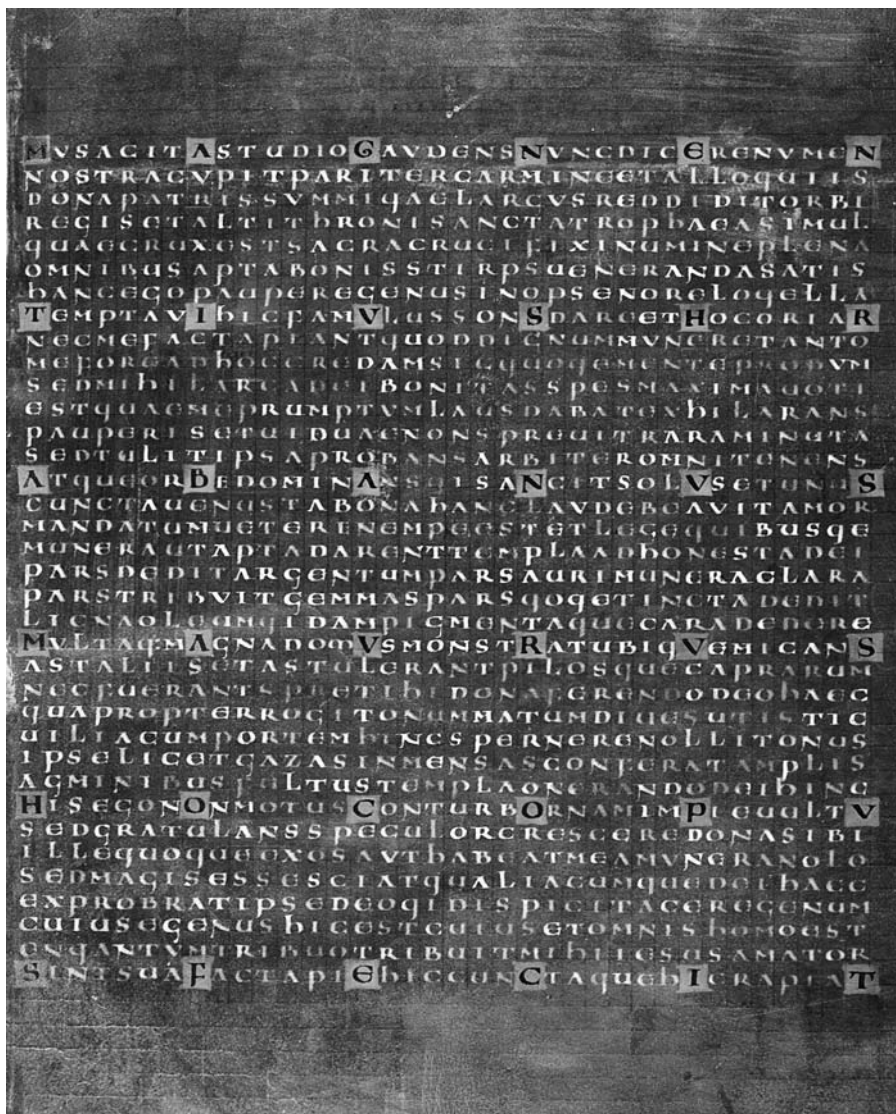


Figure 1.1. Hrabanus Maurus scatters the letters of his name, *Magnentius Hrabanus Maurus*, at every eighth word of every eighth line along with the tag *hoc opus fecit. In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross) (second quarter of the ninth century). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, MS Reg. lat. 124, fol. 71r. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

heir. The visual repertoire of *In Honor of the Holy Cross* seals the alliance between mentor and pupil as one of its *figurae* represents Alcuin presenting his protégé to Saint Martin of Tours (Plate 2). In this illustration, Alcuin's arm encircles a diffident Hrabanus, who is portrayed clutching a copy of his poetic tome, a gift intended for the great Martin.⁴⁷ Hrabanus's wavy black tresses stand in contrast to the gray, thinning hair of Martin and Alcuin, a visualization of the younger man's Frankish name, "the black raven."⁴⁸ Of course, the portrait of the poet is highly stylized, as individuality was suppressed in this kind of illustration as thoroughly as it programmatically was in the monastery. It may well be the case that Hrabanus conveyed his personality best through his acrostic code into which he inserted his name and his artistic exceptionalism.

The thematic thread tying the written and visual legacies of the monk Hrabanus is the monastic art of biblical exegesis. Hrabanus's art is expressed through an unprecedented variety of media: poetry, prose, the visual arts, and even ritual techniques focused on the body. Hrabanus may have self-consciously downplayed his role as artist, often referring to himself as a "little man" (*homunculus*), who wrote "little works" (*opuscula*). Yet he went to spectacular lengths to ensure his legacy as sole author of remarkable texts, such as *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, with striking visual display of his name. Hrabanus clearly found his signature style as a "foursquare" man of scripture (*homo quadratus*), and this foursquare theme appears in his various exegetical and artistic works.⁴⁹

For instance, the sacred core of a monastic complex suggests the medieval preoccupation with foursquare style. The Carolingian cloister found its basic units of measurement in adult male thumbs and feet (a Carolingian foot is a little over thirteen inches), and thus architects inscribed the human body quite literally onto the numinous guts of the monastery.⁵⁰ In its most perfect form, the Carolingian *claustrum* was constructed in the form of a square, an architectural signature suggestive of the apocalyptic esotericism of heavenly Jerusalem, a foursquare city (Revelation 21.16).⁵¹ The monk's body, which was moored to the space of the cloister, was itself infused with foursquare cosmic substances, for corporeal humors were earthly manifestations of the cosmological elements: earth, water, fire, and air. The foursquare nature of the cross (head, foot, and two arms) represents the singular link in this cosmological system, forming a mystical bridge between the architecture of the cloister and the bodies of the monks who inhabit its foursquare space. As Hrabanus's verses in *In Honor of the Holy Cross* make clear, aspects that par-

take of a fourfold nature—the elements, the seasons, the regions of the world, the virtues, the quarters of the day, the seraphim and cherubim, the evangelists, the senses of scripture, and even the letters of the biblical Adam's name—are all perfected through kinship with the foursquare cross, the cosmic anchor (Figure 1.2).⁵² The Holy Cross and its poetic praises form a mystical column supporting the celestial edifice from which God's house is constructed.⁵³

In an extravagant visual move, Hrabanus positions all twenty-eight *figurae* from *In Honor of the Holy Cross* within the form of a square or has them inscribed within quadangular space.⁵⁴ Thus *figura 5* sports four squares containing a progressive catena of Christ's most holy men: Hebrew patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs (Plate 3).⁵⁵ Hrabanus also translated this foursquare preoccupation into the realm of reliquary art, constructing foursquare tombs for the bodies of Roman martyrs. He even engraved four-square verse (*carmina quadrata*) on these foursquare sepulchres.⁵⁶ Perhaps these musings on squares, which are so characteristic of Hrabanus's poetic, exegetical, and artistic works, were called to mind by the monks who passed through the foursquare interior of Fulda's cloister. After all, Abbot Hrabanus had built the new Fulda cloister with the foursquare and monumental proportions of perhaps a little over 252 x 252 feet.⁵⁷ In this allegorical system, the body of the individual monastic practitioner is united, through the agency of the cross, with the foursquare universe (*orbis quadratus*), itself embodied in the architecture of the cloister and the biblical culture it housed. This esoteric framing of monastic life unveils the imaginative landscapes of the cloister.

In addition to providing Hrabanus a venue for fashioning his autobiography and expressing the foursquare space of the cloister, *In Honor of the Holy Cross* is also a funerary memorial to Alcuin, who had died in 804, a decade before the poet completed his most influential work.⁵⁸ Prior to the death of his teacher, Hrabanus had returned to Fulda as beneficiary of Alcuin's pedagogical legacy, a new schoolmaster charged with guiding *discipuli* through grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, geometry, music, astronomy, and theology. These disciples would have included both young monks and sons of the secular nobility. Magister Hrabanus led his students through classical poetry, grammar, and history; he read with them works ranging from the Augustan poet Ovid to the grammarian Donatus. Indeed, Hrabanus's study circle was the last early medieval group to make significant use of the corpus of texts produced by the Roman poet Lucretius.⁵⁹ At about the same time as

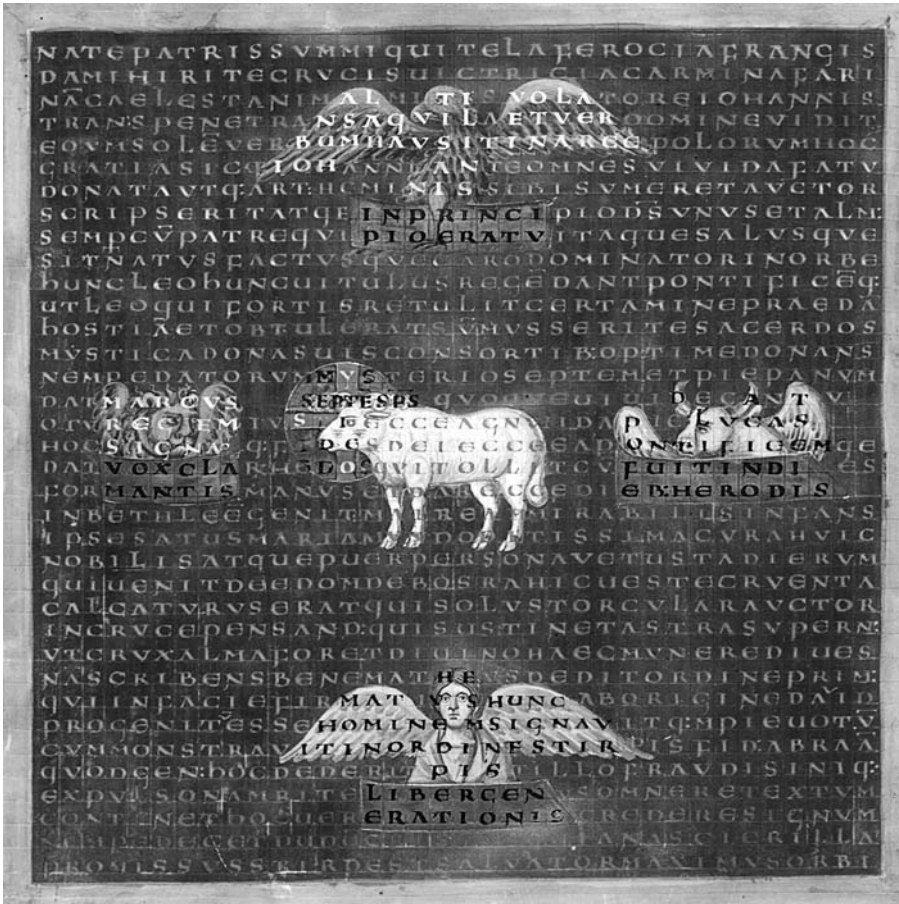


Figure 1.2. Four Evangelists and the Lamb of God. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, MS Reg. lat. 124, fol. 22v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

the Fulda poet finished *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, he was consecrated as a priest (ca. 814) by Haistulf, the bishop of Mainz. Within the next four decades Hrabanus, first as magister, then as headmaster (ca. 818–22), and later as abbot (ca. 822–42), would transform the cloister school at Fulda into the preeminent educational institution of its day with a library housing an impressive array of classical, Jewish, and Christian texts, as well as poems penned in Old High German.⁶⁰ Hrabanus’s lifelong love of the Fulda library led him to address an enthusiastic poem to the priest Gerhoh, his “beloved brother”

(*frater amate*), who safeguarded the key to the monastery's impressive tomes. The library, the poet informs Gerhoh, enables the untiring scholars who cross its threshold to access both heaven and earth:

Am I able to praise sufficiently the books
 You hold under your lock and key, O beloved brother?
 Whatever God has directed to earth for men's use
 Through the pious words of Holy Scripture,
 Whatever the wisdom of the world, in diverse epochs,
 Has yielded to our understanding, you will find it there.⁶¹

In these verses, Hrabanus spells out that Fulda's library is a place in the monastery where a young scholar could delve into the mysteries of the universe and do so through the art of biblical interpretation.

During his early days as magister and neophyte biblical exegete, Hrabanus witnessed firsthand a decade of internal turmoil that plagued Fulda through the reign of the monastery's third abbot, the controversial and "quarrelsome" (*litigiosus*) Ratgar (ca. 802–17). Chapter 5 details the rule of Ratgar over Fulda, and Chapter 2 treats Ratgar's building program at the monastery. Therefore, it is sufficient here to summarize Ratgar's tenure as abbot to set up subsequent discussion of him. Ratgar of Fulda, who had served as the community's architect during the abbacy of his predecessor, is renowned among architectural historians for his ambitious renovation of Fulda's Salvator, the monastery's basilica.⁶² His decision to transform the Salvator into a Roman-style basilica with dimensions similar to the most eminent sacred edifices in western Christendom, Saint Peter's on the Vatican Hill and the Lateran complex on the Caelian, sparked a revolt against his heavy-handed rule. Around 817, the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious yielded to a faction of monks in Fulda, who had traveled to the royal court to demand Ratgar's expulsion.⁶³ The emperor deposed and punished Ratgar. Eventually he had him exiled to the satellite community of the Frauenberg, located a few miles from Fulda.⁶⁴ After deliberations, the monks elected their fourth abbot, Eigil (ca. 818–22), described in his sacred biography as a man of advanced years and imposing gravitas.⁶⁵

The successful rebellion of the monks of Fulda against their quarrelsome third abbot is well documented in ninth-century sources and has remained a topic of interest to architectural historians and historians of monasticism.⁶⁶

Ratgar's visionary design, or, according to his detractors, the abbot's "immense and superfluous" venture, led to the disruption of Fulda's life across the board.⁶⁷ Making matters worse, disease and famine devastated the community in 807 and depleted its workforce. Overall, Ratgar's reign appears to have impoverished the monastery's school, for Hrabanus complains to Haisulf of Mainz that his lack of access to scribes and notaries had forced him to serve as both (*ipse mihi dictator, simul et notarius*).⁶⁸ Ratgar further antagonized the monks under his charge by shipping off the old and feeble members of the community—perhaps those he deemed not up to the labor of transforming the monastery—to Fulda's other religious houses (*cellae*).⁶⁹ Ratgar's deportation of the weak members of his community stands in direct violation of the Rule of Saint Benedict, which commands an abbot to be "compassionate toward the old and the young" (37.1).⁷⁰

In a poem addressed to Ratgar, Hrabanus hints at the negative effects of the abbot's chaotic reign on the life of the monastery. Fulda's poet begs Ratgar, whom he humbly calls a gracious pastor of monks, to return to him a set of "little books" and "glosses," which contain his notes on the lectures he had heard from the august Alcuin.⁷¹ Hrabanus plays up to the commanding presence of Ratgar by acknowledging that every word the scholar writes and every *libellus* in which he scribbles down notes is really the abbot's possession, not his own.⁷² The poet indirectly expresses the anxiety that without these priceless notes to anchor his roving mind, his spirit will stray and thus bring about the ruin of his soul.⁷³ In a later poem, *Metrum de transitu monachorum*, Hrabanus makes a direct connection between Ratgar's rule and the perilous state of peripatetic spirituality. In *Carmen* 40, he vilifies Ratgar as a ruthless ruler, who shatters the cenobitic tradition of *stabilitas* and forces monks into the hazardous spiritual state of "wandering."⁷⁴

Brun Candidus's partisan *Life of Eigil* (ca. 840) similarly paints a portrait of a despotic Ratgar, who perverts the Holy Rule's teachings on the authority of the abbot. According to Candidus, Ratgar is an "indiscriminate pastor," who sows the "discord of all discords" in the monastery, fractures the preexisting "wondrous harmony of the brothers," and exercises supremacy with severity.⁷⁵ In contrast, Abbot Eigil is a master of concord and *stabilitas*, so much so that he is able to complete the building project by finishing off the basilica's pavement and putting the final touches on its many altars. In so doing, Eigil expands Ratgar's grand architectural scheme, for the fourth abbot added to the Salvator basilica project two hall crypts as well as a round church

dedicated to both Christ and Michael the Archangel.⁷⁶ This latter edifice, the “little round church” (*parva rotunda*), was then to serve as a sepulchre for the community.⁷⁷ The architectural style of the Michael Rotunda is linked symbolically with Christ’s sepulchre in Jerusalem through the presence of relics from the Holy Land in the Carolingian space.⁷⁸ This hallowed association shows a calculated desire to import the power of the Holy Land to the Frankish eastern zone.⁷⁹ Eigil also began moving the monastery’s cloister from its position in the south to the basilica’s west, a bold undertaking that would be completed by Fulda’s fifth abbot, Hrabanus (ca. 822–42).⁸⁰

Textual sources provide some information on Hrabanus’s activities at Fulda during the abbacy of the *gravis* Eigil (ca. 818–22). In two extant poems addressed to Eigil, Hrabanus hails his elderly abbot as a “sweet friend” and recipient of one of his recent literary labors, the architectural inscriptions (*tituli*) intended for the monastery’s most hallowed spaces. Employing the language of Virgil, Hrabanus prays that the Lord, the ruler from the heights of Mount Olympus, protect his much loved Eigil.⁸¹ Eigil had charged the Fulda poet with the composition of *tituli* to commemorate the abbey’s enterprising venture of collecting and displaying relics of Christ’s passion, the apostles, Egyptian hermits, Roman martyrs, patristic authors, and northern missionaries.⁸² Hrabanus completed these verses as part of the festivities connected with the consecration of the renovated Salvator basilica (ca. 819). The *tituli* celebrate the installation of a vast array of relics into Eigil’s new hall crypts, the abbey church, the Michael Rotunda, and a handful of Fulda’s satellite oratories.⁸³ As such, the *tituli* are a valuable source for the movement of Roman relics north of the Alps as well as the ideological use of the bodies of the holy dead in the creation of political, spiritual, and even gendered spheres of influence.

At the consecration of the Salvator basilica (All Saints’ Day in November 819), Hrabanus presented the presiding bishop, Haistulf of Mainz, with a copy of yet another influential work, *De institutione clericorum*, which he characterizes as a “trifling gift” (*munusculum*).⁸⁴ In the poem dedicated to Haistulf, Hrabanus names Eigil as the inspiration behind the text, for the abbot had bid the schoolmaster to give it to the bishop as a present.⁸⁵ Hrabanus informs his patron that he has transmitted *De institutione clericorum* to male altar servants both through his teaching as well as through his writing. In fact, in certain places, *De institutione clericorum* unveils the lively setting of Fulda’s monastic classroom, where the energetic exchange of questions

and answers between magister and *discipuli* frequently knocks a professor off course.⁸⁶ A large part of this text is devoted to the art of eloquent pedagogy embodied in an advanced monastic curriculum. As such, it remains an important artifact in the scholarly recovery of monastic intellectual culture, including an unexpected Christian defense of reading sexually charged Roman poetry.

As an educational theorist, Hrabanus urges a balance between classical training and Christian ethics, warning his students that the study of Roman poets is a dangerous enterprise, one capable of propelling even the pious student into an abyss of licentiousness. The advice given is simple and based on an earlier epistle of Jerome: the young student is to scrape away wicked matter, leaving only the ornaments of eloquence to be gleaned from poets such as Ovid and Virgil. In doing so, a monk imitates the Israelite man who wants to wed a captive woman from a different tribal group. Deuteronomy 21.10–14 instructs the Israelite man to shave off the hair of his intended, captive bride, to pare her nails, and to strip her clean.⁸⁷ This section of *De institutione clericorum* likens the practice of reading non-Christian poetry to the art of preparing vellum for scribal inscription, a complex process well known to both master and pupils. Pagan texts, like parchment and symbolically like the captive woman of Deuteronomy, are to be "cleansed, erased, scraped, and pared of wrongful ideas."⁸⁸ Then the virginal monk may handle the verses (just as the Israelite man may now consummate his relationship with the captive bride), as they have been cleansed of their former defilements. What remain are jeweled ornaments of style (*flora eloquentiae*), verses suitable for the glorification of God, just as in Hrabanus's *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, where Horace's craft serves to exalt the cross.

In addition to offering advice on employing the meter of non-Christian poets, *De institutione clericorum* also served as a reference work for an ecclesiastical hierarchy in need of glosses on their offices. The text covers a range of material, including liturgical singing, hairstyles, gestures, shoes, and vestments, as well as biblical antecedents for ritual activities. Among others, Hrabanus bases his compilation heavily on the writings of Isidore of Seville and Augustine of Hippo. In the prologue to the work, Hrabanus acknowledges that many of his colleagues had been hounding him to create a work that would bring together in one codex all the disparate threads of patristic wisdom on various aspects of the institution of the church, especially the sources and meanings of liturgical clothing.⁸⁹

Hrabanus's section on priestly garb moved the Fulda magister into uncharted intellectual territory. His treatise on priestly vestments—the most copied and excerpted sections of *De institutione clericorum*—was directed at a large group of clerics who were unfamiliar with the symbolic meanings of their ceremonial dress.⁹⁰ In response, Fulda's schoolmaster offers his audience advice on how to clothe the sacred male body and the occult implications of each vestment. Thus *De institutione clericorum* is an invaluable source for analyzing the relationship among masculinity, ritual performance, and monastic reform in the Carolingian west.

In addition to assembling architectural *tituli* and sacerdotal instruction manuals in the years before he was elected abbot (ca. 822), Hrabanus also completed a *computus*, a work modeled on Anglo-Saxon treatises on sacred timekeeping, intended to guide Frankish priests through the complexities of the annual cycle of liturgical festivals.⁹¹ He finished an impressive commentary on the gospel of Matthew (ca. 821), a text that would join the trinity of his most popular and requested works, the other two being *In Honor of the Holy Cross* and *De rerum naturis* (840s).⁹² In the dedicatory epistle to the Matthew interpolation, Hrabanus explains to Bishop Haistulf of Mainz that this codex will serve the function of aiding the “impoverished reader” (*lector pauperculus*), who is poorly equipped to grapple with patristic interpolations of the gospels or who lacks access to a decent library.⁹³

During this same period (ca. 822), Hrabanus completed his important exegetical treatises on the Torah, lengthy excursions begun while he was still magister of the Fulda school. He dedicated his expositions on the five books of Torah to his friend Freulf on the occasion of the latter's elevation to the office of bishop of Lisieux. In fact, Freulf was the inspiration behind the massive corpus of Torah commentaries, as the bishop of Lisieux had exhorted his co-worker in Christ, Hrabanus, to pen works on the five books. In characteristic style, Hrabanus expresses shock at such a weighty commission: “I am amazed that you [Freulf] would choose a vile and inexpert little man like me for such a study.”⁹⁴ In deference to his love for Bishop Freulf, Hrabanus agrees to keep at bay the duties associated with administering a large monastic community and to dip instead into the “desert places” of Torah.

In a short account of the architectural and intellectual activities of his mentor, Hrabanus's disciple Rudolf of Fulda lists these critical works of exegesis on the Torah: “four books on Genesis, four on Exodus, seven on Leviticus, four on Numbers, and four on Deuteronomy.”⁹⁵ In the commentary on

Leviticus, Hrabanus makes substantial use of the corpus of Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185–254) as well as the more obscure exposition on the third book of Torah by the fifth-century exegete Hesychius of Jerusalem.⁹⁶ For Hrabanus, Origen is the master of occult exegesis, and his fondness for the dense texts of the Egyptian priest seals his reputation as the major transmitter of Origen to the later medieval era.⁹⁷ The exposition on Leviticus also situates its author within the exegetical tradition of Hebrew esotericism.

Otherwise, Hrabanus's Torah commentaries draw on the more commonly cited ecclesiastical authors of the day: Jerome, Bede, Isidore, Augustine, and Gregory the Great. Accordingly, Hrabanus summons each church father for specialized interpretative acumen: Jerome as the technical expert in the literal interpretation of scripture, Isidore as the skilled grammarian, Gregory as the connoisseur of moral exegesis, Augustine as the bridge between the occult and historical realms, and Bede as the authority on mystical reading.⁹⁸ Hrabanus also employed the writings of Josephus (ca. 38–100), Judaism's expert on the temple cult, its priesthood, and Jewish antiquities; in several of his epistles, he acknowledges that he has consulted the histories of this Jewish scholar.⁹⁹ Hrabanus himself would offer his own opinion, particularly when he lacked an authoritative voice from the past on particular issues.¹⁰⁰ A careful scholar, he instructed his scribes to indicate in the margins of manuscripts which church father was being invoked. He used *M* to indicate his own unique contribution on a topic, which he inserted—with divine grace looking on approvingly—when he had something novel to add to a subject.¹⁰¹

These first forays into the intricate world of Christian exegesis took place within the lively academic arena of Fulda's cloister school. Candidus, the hagiographer of Eigil, records that Hrabanus was especially close to his abbot, and that the two men engaged in frequent disputations designed for the edification of the entire brotherhood.¹⁰² They even held public forums on the theological meaning of church architecture.¹⁰³ The special familiarity shared between abbot and magister confirmed Hrabanus as heir to the spiritual leadership over the six hundred Fulda monks. Eigil fell ill during the building campaign to move the monastery's cloister from its southern position to an area west of the Salvator. Archaeological evidence suggests that the dimensions of this new cloister were unprecedented among contemporary edifices.¹⁰⁴ Before he had completed the monumental cloister, the dying abbot asked his community to bury him in the rotunda church dedicated to Christ and Saint Michael the Archangel.¹⁰⁵

Abbot Hrabanus

Hrabanus's tenure as Eigil's successor has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, especially among German historians. In fact, Abbot Hrabanus was the darling of the German nationalist historical enterprise of the nineteenth century. A handful of imaginative historians regarded the abbot as an architect of a unique Germanic *Bildung* ("a broad cultural and educational background") and indigenous cultural identity. In this nationalist enterprise, Fulda became the key origin point for the transmission of that cultured identity as well as its native vernacular literature.¹⁰⁶ It is indeed the case that Fulda's *schola* had achieved a reputation for vernacular literature and language, housing manuscript texts of German epics, such as the *Hildebrandslied* copied in Fulda in the 830s. The monastery's library offered these cultural artifacts as objects of study to the top academic minds of the day. Indeed, Lupus of Ferrières sent his learned boys to Fulda for the purpose of engaging in vernacular studies. Hrabanus's student Otfrid of Weissenburg even created a vernacular *vita* of Christ, the *Liber evangeliorum* (870), penned in Frankish dialect and dedicated to King Louis the German.¹⁰⁷

Since the nineteenth century, however, the image of Hrabanus as star pedagogue of a native *Bildung* has been challenged by the work of Dutch, German, and British historians.¹⁰⁸ For more contemporary scholars, Hrabanus is no longer the unchallenged *praeceptor Germaniae* of a far-reaching educational program; the impact of his elite study circle on Germanic culture was never that grand. During the last few decades, these revisionist historians have reformulated an image of the abbot of Fulda from visionary pedagogue to active agent in the court politics of ninth-century Francia. In the service of illuminating the abbot's political importance, these same scholars look to him as a practitioner of the art of biblical exegesis, who used his prized works as political commodities to seal alliances and produce new spiritual kinship groups.¹⁰⁹

Whereas past scholars saw the abbot's exegetical output as the nadir of his career because of its derivative nature, more recent work has overturned this outdated portrait of Hrabanus as insipid scriptural scholar, a mere cut-and-paste exegete who stitched together the homilies of more famous patristic writers rather than creating something original of his own. Instead of presenting a plodding plagiarist, new scholarship imagines Fulda's fifth abbot as an artistic, playful, and, at times, even shocking exegete, who fused together

in inspired ways Christian and Jewish exegetical styles.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the medieval art of biblical exegesis itself has surfaced recently as a critical theme of historical investigation.¹¹¹

It was during his twenty-year reign as abbot (ca. 822–42) that Hrabanus cemented his reputation as leading biblical exegete and author, crafting weighty expositions on many topics, including sacred architecture, desert landscapes, and the royal women of the Hebrew Bible. His interpolations ran the full gamut of scripture, from the Torah to Paul's epistles.¹¹² These commentaries became the priceless possessions of both clerical and secular elites. In fact, Frankish kings and queens remained among the most enthusiastic consumers of the abbot's writings, and they sought from him treatises on the historical, prophetic, and hagiographical sections of Hebrew scripture. Carolingian monarchs also carried cumbersome biblical texts and exegetical commentaries with them on their travels, for ninth-century rulers were expected to evaluate the quality of works of biblical interpretation.¹¹³ Hrabanus even prepared abridged versions of unwieldy larger works, so that his codices would not be burdensome to itinerant royal retinues.¹¹⁴ Professional readers (*lectores peritissimi*) also numbered among the ranks of royal entourages; their function was to recite publicly knotty texts like the biblical expositions penned by Hrabanus.¹¹⁵ Hrabanus submitted his exegetical texts to be judged by the forensic skills of court readers as to their quality, purity, and orthodoxy.

In spite of his celebrity as leading scriptural scholar and producer of exegesis aimed at royal audiences, Fulda's fifth abbot lacks a proper sacred biography. This deficiency is peculiar as his predecessors Sturm, Baugulf, and Eigil, had *vitae* composed in their honor, though not all are extant.¹¹⁶ As noted above, Rudolf of Fulda, who served as head schoolmaster under Abbot Hrabanus, did attach a short *vita* of his teacher and mentor (*praeceptor meus*) to a larger work on the translation of relics of female and male saints to the Fulda monastery and its satellite churches during Hrabanus's tenure as rector. In this quasi-*vita*, Rudolf focuses on two of the abbot's spiritual and administrative activities: writing and building. The abbot's writing speaks to his innovative stance as Fulda's steward, for none of his forebears bequeathed to posterity such an impressive corpus of texts. No longer forced to serve as both scribe and notary (as he had done under Ratgar), Abbot Hrabanus oversaw a state-of-the-art scriptorium with perhaps fifty scribes.¹¹⁷ Rudolf of Fulda provides an inventory of his magister's literary legacy, jewels of Christian and Hebrew exegesis. Rudolf emphasizes that Hrabanus agreed to pro-

duce many of these texts after yielding to the pleading of his friends for more exegesis.¹¹⁸ He notes that Fulda's *vates*-poet finished his first composition, the poetic praises of the Holy Cross, a work coupling metrical style with twenty-eight mysterious *figurae*, when he was about thirty years old.¹¹⁹ After these verses Rudolf lists a number of subsequent texts, such as *De institutione clericorum*, biblical commentaries, penitentials, and treatises on canon law.¹²⁰ His reckoning of Hrabanus's works, however, ends before Hrabanus's tenure as archbishop of Mainz.

Rudolf's focus on the literary production of Hrabanus is similar to Possidius's fifth-century *vita* of another church luminary, Augustine of Hippo. Like Possidius, Rudolf composes a sacred biography in which the textual output of the saint is to a large degree the star of the narrative.¹²¹ Rudolf's listing of the exegetical works of his magister echoes Eusebius of Caesaria's record of the impressive output of his hero Origen of Alexandria, compiled in book 6 of the *Ecclesiastical History* (ca. 325).¹²² Hrabanus's exegetical titles parallel those of the Alexandrian master in a way that can hardly be coincidental. Rudolf's attention to Hrabanus's scholarly achievement evokes the hallowed legacy of the Venerable Bede (ca. 672/3–735), who, in the final book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, provides a catalog of his works in heroic verse and prose.¹²³ Bede too was a master of composing funerary *tituli*, a talent picked up by his Frankish heir Hrabanus. Rudolf hails Hrabanus as "the wisest of poets of his time and second to none."¹²⁴ As a corollary, the chronicle of the abbots of Fulda records for posterity a portrait of Hrabanus as a bibliophile, who collected for his scriptorium a plethora of hallowed tomes, so many it would be impossible to count them all.¹²⁵

In imitation of Alcuin's beloved "bird nest" at Tours, Hrabanus created his own *nidus* at Fulda, where he mentored some of the greatest scholars of the ninth-century West: Otfrid of Weissenburg, Gottschalk of Saxony, Hemmo of Halberstadt, Solomon of Constance, Walahfrid Strabo, Hartmut of Saint Gall, Lupus of Ferrières, Ermenrich of Ellwangen, Baturich of Regensburg, the royal chaplain Gundram, and Rudolf of Fulda.¹²⁶ One of Hrabanus's most successful students, Walahfrid Strabo, dedicated an abridged commentary on Leviticus to his former magister in a manner reminiscent of a contemporary academic *Festschrift*.¹²⁷ Another pupil, Candidus, recalled vividly his magister's disciplinary pedagogical tactics. When Candidus complained to Hrabanus that he lacked the intellectual companionship of his compatriots with whom he could study and discuss divine scripture, Hraba-

nus snapped back: "Keep at it!" The abbot exhorted his disciple to stop dallying and to begin writing a two-volume prose and verse *vita* of Abbot Eigil. Hrabanus reminded his student that when he had found himself in the same position that Candidus now occupied, he completed his own prose and verse compilation on the Holy Cross.¹²⁸ Clearly the scholarly aspect of Hrabanus's career was crucial not only for the producers of his saintly image but also for its avid consumers.

Unlike the exceptional nature of Hrabanus's scholarly talents, the holy man's second gift, building, places him within the traditional lineage of Fulda's abbots, all of whom were active in the fabrication of reliquary tombs, cloisters, basilicas, crypts, round churches, and even mountaintop cells.¹²⁹ Throughout his life, Hrabanus was a specialist in the Christian visual arts, exhibiting a fondness for tapestries, baldachins, reliquaries, and other lavish religious objects. He even built a reliquary in the image of the ark of the covenant complete with attendant cherubim.¹³⁰ The ark of Hebrew scripture remained a major subject of the abbot's poetry, and, as such, it straddled Hrabanus's literary and visual repertoire. Moreover, Hrabanus took a particular interest in amplifying the abbey's reputation as pilgrimage center for the veneration of the cult of Fulda's patron saint, Boniface.¹³¹

Rudolf informs his audience that Abbot Hrabanus built as many as thirty churches and oratories.¹³² His technical expertise especially found expression in cultic objects, such as gem-encrusted reliquaries, complete with lead *loculi* and stone tomb chests (*arcae*) housing the bones of cartloads of the relics of Roman martyrs shipped from the Eternal City to points north of the Alps. The abbot even surrounded the corpse of Fulda's patron saint, the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface, with a retinue of Roman martyrs, and he constructed a stone tower (*turris*) behind the high altar of the Salvator, placing there the remains of Western Christendom's most spectacular dead: Cecilia, Sebastian, and Felix. Rudolf details the abbot's embellishment of his new tower reliquary: he decorated the sarcophagi of the martyrs with prized stones, silver, gold, and even artistic depictions of each saint. To shelter Boniface's new Roman kinship group, Hrabanus covered the monument with a wood roof suspended by four columns decorated with precious metal.¹³³ The abbot then finished off this grand project by composing poems to commemorate the martyrs whose bones lie within: four verses on one side of the tomb, another four on the other. The abbot's elegiac couplets also advertise his singular role as designer: "Humble Hrabanus built this monument." In a

similar manner Hrabanus's scattering of the letters of his name through the verses of *In Honor of the Holy Cross* draws attention to his authorship of the poem.¹³⁴

In addition to being a connoisseur of fine arts and a poetic advocate of Christian visual masterpieces, Abbot Hrabanus also crossed over into the turbulent world of secular politics at the highest levels of Frankish society.¹³⁵ The economic duties of the abbot of Fulda were vast because the abbey possessed more than eight thousand properties from Frisia to Italy. Hrabanus frequently was involved in land transactions and sometimes raised forces to send to the aid of the emperor.¹³⁶ In the political arena Hrabanus backed the Carolingian emperor Lothar I against his brother Louis the German during the period of civil wars among the heirs of Louis the Pious. It was a relationship that had been sealed before the death in 840 of Hrabanus's first great patron, Louis the Pious. In 841, Hrabanus spent time at Lothar's court at Aachen and Mainz.¹³⁷ Hrabanus probably wrote his exposition on the prophet Jeremiah while staying with Lothar at Mainz.¹³⁸ At the same time Hrabanus dedicated his exegesis on the book of Esther to Lothar's wife, Irmengard. In the dedicatory epistle, Hrabanus thanks the queen for her gracious hospitality while he was with Lothar at Mainz.¹³⁹ Lothar's rival, Louis the German, even made the trek to the abbey of Fulda to visit its famous abbot and to discuss the art of biblical interpretation with him. This royal presence at the monastery sparked a great deal of anxiety in Hrabanus, who fretted that Louis's company would distract him from his scholarly pursuits.¹⁴⁰

Hrabanus persisted in his loyalty to Lothar throughout the civil wars fought among Louis the Pious's heirs. This devotion to Lothar, however, cost the abbot his position as commander and chief scholar of Fulda. In 841, Louis the German defeated Hrabanus's second great patron, Lothar, at the battle of Fontenoy near Auxerre. In that same year, Louis's army routed Lothar's troops in the Ries, one of the most important victories in the Frankish east. Both Hrabanus and his brother Count Guntram were with the vanquished eastern army at the moment of its defeat. Immediately after the armed conflict in the Ries, the siblings fled to a familial estate near Worms. Anticipating the impending triumph of Louis the German over the eastern lands, Guntram hastily began dumping family properties situated on both sides of the Rhine into the custodianship of the abbey of Fulda. In a desperate land exchange, Guntram then had his brother the abbot return the western estates—lands theoretically out of Louis's grasp—as a calculated “precarial

grant."¹⁴¹ In 842, Hrabanus left his post as abbot and took up residence at one of Fulda's nearby cells, the small oratory situated atop the Petersberg.¹⁴² Perhaps the abbot's exile was voluntary, and he readily gave up his prestigious post to his longtime friend and co-worker Hatto, who then became Fulda's sixth abbot (ca. 842–56). Although a number of sources insist that Hrabanus was forcibly expelled from his post, an epistle of the Carolingian luminary Lupus of Ferrières stresses that the abbot willingly abandoned his duties to pursue "divine things."¹⁴³ Rudolf of Fulda concurs, writing that after having nobly conducted himself as abbot for twenty years Hrabanus vacated his onerous office and took up residence in the little church he had constructed on a hilltop to the east of the monastery. There, Rudolf stresses, the ex-abbot devoted himself solely to serving God and to the art of celestial philosophy.¹⁴⁴

Abbot Hrabanus's departure from Fulda must be read within the larger context of church-state relations in the ninth-century Frankish empire. Louis the German had ousted a number of Lothar's supporters from prestigious monasteries situated east of the Rhine.¹⁴⁵ This expulsion of famous men from positions of monastic leadership speaks to the unstable position of abbot during the Carolingian era. Seven of Fulda's first nine abbots were removed from office.¹⁴⁶ Relationships between abbots and kings could become so estranged that even beloved students, such as Hrabanus's nephew Gundram (son of the abbot's brother), were held hostage to ensure the allegiance of monastic potentates.¹⁴⁷ No doubt Hrabanus had little choice but to vacate his status as abbot, though political acumen compelled him to do so in a way that appeared to many as voluntary.¹⁴⁸

Beloved Cell

In 842, Hrabanus found himself within the desert-like setting of a scriptural *meditatorium*, a scholarly retreat he had designed in the 830s as part of his larger program of architectural works. Rudolf of Fulda in his tribute to his mentor describes the little basilica on the Petersberg as being visible atop its mountain summit, about twelve *stadia* (about two miles) to the east of Fulda.¹⁴⁹ While living at the Petersberg, Hrabanus may have recalled the poetic verses of his mentor Alcuin on the spiritual splendors of his beloved cell (*cella amata*) at York.¹⁵⁰ Alcuin informs readers that he had experienced intense pain when away from his cell and bid adieu to the boys who had chanted sweetly under its roof. "O my cell," Alcuin sighs, "my sweet, beloved

dwelling, forever and ever, O my cell, farewell.”¹⁵¹ No doubt, Hrabanus, like Alcuin, was conflicted over abandoning his home of over fifty years, his much-loved boys, and his friends. Yet he now found himself in a space not unlike the one praised by Alcuin, a *cella amata*, or as Hrabanus would write in his own funerary epitaph, a *cella grata*, a pleasing cell suited for the pursuits of scholarship.

Hrabanus had designed the scholarly retreat of the Petersberg in the 830s. He built a small, triple-nave basilica with a crypt and outfitted the complex with monastic cells.¹⁵² Hrabanus chose to surround himself with a collection of relics of female saints belonging to renowned Roman martyrs and even local women heroes, such as Boniface’s close associate Leoba. Hrabanus had commissioned his student Rudolf to pen Leoba’s *vita* (ca. 836) and the abbot had transferred the Anglo-Saxon holy woman’s body from its first resting place at the monastery of Fulda to the Petersberg (ca. 838). Furthermore, the abbot oversaw the painting of wall frescoes depicting Christ’s mother Mary encircled by female virgins.¹⁵³

While in residence at the Petersberg (ca. 842–47), Hrabanus engaged full-time in the art of biblical interpretation, authoring treatises on the prophet Ezekiel, the book of Daniel, Song of Songs, and Maccabees, as well as a series of canonical and exegetical treatments of topics ranging from penance and ecclesiastical discipline to an idiosyncratic text on incest and magic.¹⁵⁴ In the dedicatory epistle to the Daniel commentary, Hrabanus offers the Hebrew prophet to Louis the German as a model for emulation. After all, Hrabanus argues, Daniel may have been preoccupied with worldly business, yet he never neglected his divine offices, thus the angel of God called him a *vir desideriorum*, a “man of ardent desires.” The hermit of the Petersberg cautions the king, however, that these desires were in no way carnal, but purely spiritual, because the delights of this world are soft and true desire lies only in the heavenly realm. Hrabanus’s words here remind Louis that grand office always lay to one side of the salvific path, a road best entered into through the hard life of self-abnegation. Accordingly, the hermit advises the king that a man cannot rightly hold on to the title *vir* if he clings to effeminate pleasures.¹⁵⁵

It was also during this five-year period of scholarly *otium* that Hrabanus completed the last of the trinity of his most crucial texts, the towering encyclopedic compendium *De rerum naturis*, which he dedicated both to his former rival, the victorious Louis the German, and to his old friend and former classmate Bishop Hemmo of Halberstadt.¹⁵⁶ Ever the political negotiator,

Hrabanus gradually reconciled himself to his adversary Louis the German. The ex-abbot had already established a close friendship with Louis's chaplain, Baturich of Regensburg.¹⁵⁷ Louis had become the ruler of the eastern half of the Frankish empire after the Treaty of Verdun (843), which meant that both Hrabanus and his treasured Fulda were under the king's authority. Weighty tomes of biblical exegesis fueled the warming relations between the two powerful men. Louis and Hrabanus made their peace at Rasdorf, one of Fulda's satellite communities.¹⁵⁸ Hrabanus's exegesis of the Song of Songs, dedicated to Louis the German and written at the same time as the meeting at Rasdorf, frames this political event. As in the allegorical erotics of the Song of Songs, where a bridegroom entreats his love to come, and the bride, upon hearing her lover's voice, immediately hastens (*ecce iste venit*), Hrabanus journeys to his Louis (*vocatus veni*).¹⁵⁹

As a result of the ensuing détente, Louis the German continued to consult the holy man on matters of scripture, for the ex-abbot's commentaries continued to be prized works even after his exile in 842.¹⁶⁰ Hrabanus provided royal politicians with helpful Hebrew models for imitation by drawing on his vast knowledge of biblical kingship and military history. For royal women, Hrabanus allegorized the heroic virtues of Esther and Judith.¹⁶¹ As the expert on Leviticus, Hrabanus also settled disputes over incest taboos.¹⁶² He was one of the few early medieval exegetes who ventured into the esoteric world of the Hebrew prophets, crafting commentaries on Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Hrabanus's exegetical sense of timing is impeccable. He offsets the anguish experienced by Louis the Pious during the emperor's struggles with his rebellious sons by sending him exegetical studies of the unruly offspring of Hebrew kings, such as Absalom.¹⁶³ Hrabanus bolsters the public persona of the Carolingian queen Judith, who at times was held hostage to court enemies who besieged her with charges of sodomy, incest, and adultery, by presenting the Augusta with biblical exemplars of similarly beleaguered Hebrew women.¹⁶⁴ This kind of wide-ranging exegetical and political skill secured Hrabanus's eminence as one of the most important writers for the monasteries and pastoral workers of the north.¹⁶⁵

Mainz

In 847, Louis the German elevated his former enemy and later favorite biblical scholar to the most prestigious episcopal see in the eastern half of the

Frankish empire, the bishopric of Mainz, Hrabanus's ancestral homeland.¹⁶⁶ Indeed, Louis and Hrabanus may have worked out the deal during their meeting at Rasdorf.¹⁶⁷ In one of his poems, Hrabanus locates Mainz as the place where he was both born and "reborn at the holy font."¹⁶⁸ By promoting Hrabanus to this lofty position as spiritual overseer of his native city, Louis integrated the ex-abbot of Fulda into the cult of the blessed Boniface, who was the first to serve as bishop of Mainz. After all, Hrabanus had written elegiac verse on the martyr-bishop, in which he likens Boniface's fame in Germanic lands as comparable to the legendary status of Jacob in Asia, Peter in Italy, John in Ephesus, and Cyprian in Africa.¹⁶⁹ As abbot, Hrabanus accentuated his connection with the Anglo-Saxon martyr, as when he reminded the recipient of one of his epistles, Bishop Fridurich of Maastricht, of how Boniface's blood was spilled in Frisia, the land over which Fridurich now had charge.¹⁷⁰

The link between Fulda and Mainz dates back to the founding of the monastery by its first abbot, Sturm.¹⁷¹ Archbishop Hrabanus was the direct successor of his old comrade Otgar (826–47), the fourth occupant of Saint Boniface's see and recipient of one of the abbot's two penitential compilations (ca. 842) as well as commentaries (ca. 840) on the Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach.¹⁷² Hrabanus's ties to Bishop Otgar were close and longstanding, as the latter's family, the Otachars, had been power brokers in Mainz.¹⁷³ In honor of their friendship and political alliance, Hrabanus penned a verse epitaph for his deceased predecessor, in which he implores a theoretical pilgrim, who has entered the *templum* (the basilica at Mainz) and bowed before its altar, to remember the pious reign of the dead Otgar.¹⁷⁴

As archbishop and spiritual heir to both Boniface and Otgar's legacies, Hrabanus entered into the urban, political world of Mainz, the key city in the eastern half of the Frankish empire. As archbishop, he chaired three church synods (in 847, 848, and 852 respectively).¹⁷⁵ The 847 synod issued thirty-one *capitula* on topics ranging from the punishment of those who massacre penitential pilgrims to bans on incestuous marriages to the translation of Latin sermons into vernacular languages.¹⁷⁶ Hrabanus also commanded the public flogging and perpetual silencing of a female prophet named Theoda, who had preached that the world would end in 847.¹⁷⁷ A second Mainz synod in 848 propelled the archbishop to a public theological controversy with his former student Gottschalk over the doctrine of predestination. As abbot, Hrabanus had battled this same Gottschalk, one of Fulda's cherished boys and child offering at the monastery's altar, over the legitimacy

of the practice of child oblation.¹⁷⁸ In one of his epistles, Hrabanus sarcastically refers to Gottschalk as a "certain know-it-all," who is scandalously receiving shelter at the count's court.¹⁷⁹ Hrabanus was present at the subsequent church council held at Quiercy (849), where his fellow bishop Hincmar led the assault on the beleaguered Gottschalk, who was condemned and imprisoned at the abbey of Hautvillers near Reims and forced to burn his theological tracts.¹⁸⁰

While participating in the disciplinary culture of the episcopacy, Hrabanus somehow also found the time to continue his lifelong pursuit of "celestial philosophy," venturing into legal issues related to incest and parricide and answering queries from fellow churchmen on diverse topics ranging from the mystical import of clerical garb to the precise physiological process involved when a votary ingests Christ's body.¹⁸¹ He also penned a lectionary for Lothar I, a martyrology for Ratleich, the abbot of Seligenstadt and high chaplain of Louis the German, and addressed a second penitential work to Bishop Heribald of Auxerre (ca. 853).¹⁸² In addition, the archbishop dedicated two other tracts to Lothar's successor, King Lothar II: a treatise on the soul (*De anima*) and a discourse on the military arts (*Epitome de rei militaris*). In the dedicatory epistle, Hrabanus assures the king that this work on hunting, gaming, and mock armed combat is entirely appropriate in an age plagued by barbarian incursions.¹⁸³

Unexpectedly, the bishop ventured beyond the realm of celestial philosophy to provide comic material for his royal audience, creating an abridged version of the anonymous late antique text, the *Coena Cypriani*, or "Cyprian's Supper."¹⁸⁴ Hrabanus presented this odd work to King Lothar II (ca. 855) for the king's amusement and the sharpening of Lothar's already acute senses.¹⁸⁵ Given the performative nature of the *Coena*, Hrabanus advises the king that he should either reread the satirical text or have it read to him.¹⁸⁶ The *Coena* depicts a bawdy banquet peopled by biblical celebrities, who are lampooned throughout the evening's festivities. Like their royal banqueting counterparts, each biblical guest sits according to rank and astride a symbolic attribute: Eve sits on a fig leaf while Judas mounts a money box. Noah falls into a drunken stupor while Judas busies himself with kissing banqueters on the mouth. Ever the gracious host, Pilate fastidiously washes the hands of the diners. The little comic tract speaks to the ability of churchmen to produce ritual catharsis in a communal setting through satirical inversion.¹⁸⁷ The bishop's justification to the king for including a work on the "sacred grotesque" in his otherwise somber corpus of texts is explicit: evil or wayward biblical characters personify

the “second foolish nature” of all men, including churchmen. Just as there are both good and bad in the modern-day church, Hrabanus’s little tract contains both types for his audiences to sample.¹⁸⁸

Approximately one year after he wrote this narrative of a lewd banquet, Hrabanus died on 4 February 856; he was buried at the monastery of Saint Alban in Mainz. A few years before his death, the elderly bishop had confessed in a letter to Emperor Lothar that he was sick in body and debilitated in spirit—increasingly he found himself in bed and not working in his treasured *meditatorium*, his private study.¹⁸⁹ In another missive, an elderly Hrabanus, who was no longer able to work at his characteristic manic pace, prefers to send the lectionary he was creating for Emperor Lothar in small portions.¹⁹⁰ Hrabanus chooses a line from Virgil to express his accelerating despondency: “Time gets all things in the end, even the mind” (*Eclogues* 9.51).¹⁹¹

After his death in 856, Hrabanus’s relics were subjected to a number of translations, and as late as the sixteenth century, yet another church magnate, Archbishop Albrecht of Brandenburg, transferred the holy man’s relics to Halle. Albrecht’s vast relic collection, of which Hrabanus’s body had become a part, offered sixteenth-century Christians a grand total of 39,245,120 years of release time from purgatory, indulgences promoted by the German Dominican preacher John Tetzel and rejected by the reformer Martin Luther in 1517.¹⁹² Albrecht and Hrabanus shared an interest in Mainz: Albrecht became the Elector of Hrabanus’s hometown in 1514. Although technically never elevated to the rank of saint, Hrabanus historically has been an object of local veneration as “blessed,” especially around Fulda and Mainz.¹⁹³

As a designer of his legacy, Hrabanus passed on to his spiritual progeny a poetic epitaph (*Carmen* 97) as part of a larger series of funerary inscriptions composed for other ecclesiastical and secular potentates.¹⁹⁴ Akin to other verses in Hrabanus’s poetic corpus, *Carmen* 97 offers its reader some candid autobiographical material. Like Alcuin, Hrabanus frames his funerary epitaph in the classical style of Roman memorials to the dead, where the deceased, through the medium of epigraphy, beg the living who come upon their tombs to remember them and to contemplate the transitory nature of life.¹⁹⁵ Hrabanus calls out from the grave to an imaginary passerby, whom he identifies as an “honest reader.” He beseeches the reader to meditate on his life’s labor in order to understand better the passing of mortal time. Hrabanus then provides a poetic rendering of his life. The gentle reader of Hrabanus’s epitaph learns of the deceased man’s birth at Mainz and his rebirth at the baptismal font of that same city. The viewer of the epitaph then follows the

holy man from his early education at Fulda to his humble submission to senior monks and to the authority of the Rule. He confesses to the casual observer, however, that this steadfast gaze on the Rule was incomplete at best. What comes through in the poetry is that the holy man's *cella grata*, his dear cell, was his true homeland, even though men contrived to tear him away from its delights and to foist on him the burden of the office of archbishop. Evoking the timeworn monastic topos of humility, Hrabanus underscores his unsuitability for the episcopacy, claiming he lacked both merit of life and doctrine for such an esteemed position. He emphasizes his inexperience to serve as pastor of a flock—and this from the former overseer of a notoriously fractious community of hundreds of monks.

In the final verses of the epitaph, the poet once more addresses the visitor to his tomb: "Now, I ask you from the grave for your aid, O cherished brother."¹⁹⁶ He implores the visitor to commend him to Christ, the final judge, with his prayers. "As everyone knows," he declares, "Hrabanus is my name" (*Hrabanus nempe mihi nomen*).¹⁹⁷ Finally, the dead man in the tomb begs his God to yield the celestial kingdom to him, to grant his servant eternal rest in the ark of heaven (*in arce poli*).¹⁹⁸ Highlighting his name was a perennial enterprise for Hrabanus Maurus. In his early days as the poet of Fulda, he scattered the letters of his name in *figura* 8 of his masterpiece *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, along with a boast of being the work's creator. Later he peppered the margins of his manuscripts on biblical interpretation with his trademark *M*. As Fulda's chief designer, he blazoned his name on the tombs of the holy dead. And at the end, when he was archbishop of Mainz and death was approaching, he took care to see that future visitors to his tomb would know his name. They do.

Hrabanus nempe mihi nomen

Chapter 2

A Carolingian Aesthetic of Bricolage

Carolingian royal and monastic leaders collected texts and artifacts from different eras and locales: architectural designs, ancient statuary, relics, poetry, foreign alphabets, exotic animals, musical instruments, patristic writings, liturgical texts, and, of course, monastic rules.¹ The geographic and imaginative range of their collections embrace the biblical lands, the Levant, and the Byzantine East, as well as terrain closer to home: the western Mediterranean, North Africa, and northern Europe. A number of objects straddle the natural and supernatural worlds: Charlemagne's elephant Abul-Abaz, the abbey of Fulda's clod of earth from Mount Sinai, and the precise measurements of heavenly Jerusalem (144 cubits) reworked at the palatine chapel at Aachen in Carolingian feet.² These curiosities demonstrate a monarch's or abbot's ability to reach great distances. At Aachen, even Jerusalem, the celestial city, submits itself to the measuring systems of Frankish builders, a clear statement of the spiritual imperialism of the Carolingian court.³ Such spoils, or to use the technical term *spolia* (Latin, "booty, plunder"), are material manifestations of a Carolingian bid for power on a Mediterranean scale.

The Carolingian taste for *spolia* was so robust that artisans faked classical items, like Aachen's monumental bronze doors complete with lion-headed knockers or the royal chapel's Corinthian columns sculpted as convincing knockoffs of Roman prototypes.⁴ The artists and carpenters who fashioned these works of art and their ersatz copies played a role in the artifacts trade. It may be the case that craftsmen from Rome and Ravenna, the two major sites for collecting classical and late ancient *spolia*, traveled to Aachen so that they could work with their skilled Frankish counterparts.⁵ In spite of the precision, adventurous spirit, and enormous costs associated with stockpiling antiquities and manufacturing first-rate reproductions, past scholars dis-

missed this Carolingian enterprise as indicative of the second-rate nature of medieval cultures. Rather than being inventive thinkers or creators of new theological systems, Carolingian intellectuals, including Hrabanus Maurus, the subject of Chapter 1, emerge from generations of scholarly investigation as cut-and-paste exegetes or unimaginative plagiarists. As such, the Carolingian contribution to Western civilization supposedly lies more in the transmission of ancient culture and less in the realm of original thought.

There is, however, another way of regarding the act of collecting. Collecting is an imperialistic venture, where the collector seeks not to restore the context of the original artifacts, but to create a new, metaphorical framework for the collection as a whole. In fact, the “spatial whole of the collection supersedes the individual narratives that lie behind it.”⁶ Collecting is, as art historian Jaś Elsner sees it, part of a late ancient “aesthetic of bricolage,” which functions simultaneously as artistic style (the display of historic *spolia* on contemporary edifices) and vehicle of state propaganda (an exertion of control over past epochs through visual and textual collecting).⁷ The late ancient culture of spoliation represented an experimental visual practice, one culminating in a medieval technique of creating architectural spectacles through exhibition of the *spolia* of saints (relics) in classicizing basilicas or adapting and transforming Roman building styles to create new political and spiritual meanings for contemporary edifices.

One of the premier examples of a Carolingian architectural aesthetic of bricolage can be found in the gatehouse, or *Torhalle* (gate hall), of the monastery at Lorsch, located in present-day Hesse in Germany (Figure 2.1).⁸ The Lorsch gate hall may have been built to mark the occasion of Louis the German’s funerary procession and burial in the monastery’s church.⁹ The gatehouse is renowned among architectural historians for its bold attempt to emulate a Roman triumphal arch. The gate hall is a rectangular two-story structure (35 feet 8 inches long, 24 feet 7 inches deep, and 23 feet 2 inches high), the ground floor of which is an open triple arcade framed by an engaged Composite order. The gate hall is the earliest surviving medieval monument to exhibit the framed arch motif known from classical antiquity in monuments ranging from triumphal arches to the Colosseum. The exterior of the second floor, accented with fluted pilasters crowned by idiosyncratic Ionic capitals supporting triangular gables, has three small windows which serve to illuminate dimly an interior space measuring 32 feet 9 inches by 19 feet 8 inches. The second-story hall is accessed via the two spiral staircases on either side of the gatehouse, which are encased within stone towers to the



Figure 2.1. Gatehouse, Lorsch, Germany, ca. 784–94 or ca. 880. Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.

south (a largely intact ninth-century edifice) and to the north (a nineteenth-century reconstruction). While the undercroft of the ground level is bereft of any visual ornamentation, the interior of the second floor is lavishly decorated with a series of illusionary paintings or *trompe l'oeil* scenes in which the reality of a poorly lit interior (as there are only three narrow windows) gives way to the fiction of a fenestrated loggia with large, arcaded openings, flooding the space with imaginary light. The space produces a “virtual loggia” (Figure 2.2).¹⁰

The gatehouse has two performative spaces: an august ground level undoubtedly used to frame ceremonial events, such as royal visitations, funerary processions, or perhaps even the abbot's legal or punitive dealings, and the second-story galleried *solarium* (the virtual loggia) functioning possibly as a surveillance space or yet another place for conducting the abbey's business.¹¹ Although there are no written sources for this monument until the seventeenth century, a close spatial reading of the gate hall confirms the above uses of its two levels.¹² The first floor is an architectural quotation of Roman triumphal arches.¹³ Only two extant classical triumphal arches have triple-arched entryways in the manner of the Lorsch gatehouse: the Roman forum's Arch of Constantine and the Arch of Septimius Severus, urban structures well known to Carolingian architects and their royal patrons. Yet the unity of Roman prototypes is, as Richard Krautheimer's unsurpassed study of medieval architectural iconography predicted, “broken up and the elements reshuffled.”¹⁴ The vaulted attic chambers of classical arches metamorphose at Lorsch into a real room, that is, a Germanic-style hall complete with a timbered roof and a space suitable for secular and spiritual negotiations. The gate hall has other precedents in addition to triumphal arch and Germanic hall—it is similar to the galleried Roman gates of antiquity or even the famous triple-arched early medieval *turris* of Old Saint Peter's in Rome, which supported a second-story timbered chamber lit by three windows (albeit ungalleried) and was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.

Moreover, the quilt-like patchwork of red, brown, and gray brick derives not from the interlacing patterns of Germanic and Celtic metalwork, as has been suggested by some art historians in an effort to stress the “barbaric” and “Dark Age” flavor of the edifice, but from a combination of Roman concrete facing (*opus reticulatum*) and the late Roman pavements now lifted and scattered across the exterior of the classicizing façade (Figure 2.3).¹⁵ It is a stylistic move similar to the one employed by early Christian artists, who took classical mosaics off the floor and threw them up onto the walls of basilicas in



Figure 2.2. Gatehouse, Lorsch, interior chamber, showing original and restored painted columns. Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.



Figure 2.3. Exterior brickwork, gatehouse, Lorsch. Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.

violation of artistic norms.¹⁶ The end effect is both familiar (late antique flooring still visible in Trier and Cologne) and innovative (tiles as wall decoration). The gatehouse thus is an intriguing hybrid space, one fusing within its exterior and interior realms Germanic, classical, papal, and late Roman styles, and doing so through the violation of “normative” rules of architectural formalism and classical symmetry. What emerges is something quite new, a daring blending of Roman prototypes and vernacular tastes.¹⁷ The artistic eclecticism of the gatehouse marks it off as a landmark edifice in the history of medieval building styles, where local traditions and resistance to classicizing uniformity thrive in the face of a language of Roman architectural hegemony. This same aesthetic is mirrored in Carolingian script, where scribes defied normative imperial miniscule by adding local flourishes to their handwriting styles.¹⁸

The Lorsch gatehouse and its visual culture of bricolage also expresses the self-confidence of Carolingian secular and ecclesiastical potentates, who grafted the unmistakable form of a classical triumphal arch onto the new forum of a new spiritual empire—the early medieval monastery. What was originally a framing device for Roman military parades and martial bodies metamorphoses here into a structure for enclosing and displaying ascetic and monarchical bodies. The Lorsch gate hall is a witness to the Carolingian aesthetic of incorporating the built environment of the classical past on strictly Germanic terms, such as the designer’s decision to situate a “virtual loggia” within the timbered frame of a vernacular structure. Lorsch’s major tourist monument remains to this day a superb example of a Carolingian cut-and-paste job.

Examination of the Carolingian “aesthetic of bricolage,” of which the Lorsch gatehouse is an excellent illustration, frames the subsequent sections, which touch on cultural supremacy and the showcasing of modernity achieved through the collecting and displaying of arcana in both material and textual media. For Carolingian intellectuals and potentates, the two key groups who ventured into the artistic realm of bricolage, collecting and displaying were methods of exerting control over the past. These cultural techniques were exercised within a variety of architectural, artistic, literary, corporeal, and ritual theaters, and each of these vehicles point to a striking vision of Frankish modernity in opposition to the primitivism of past cultures. This aesthetic is located in the following domains: literary (the bibliophile aspect of Carolingian bricolage); architectural (ancient Christianity imposed on the built environment of a Frankish abbey); and ritual (ascetic

history inscribed on the ritual bodies of monks). This chapter centers on how monastic reformers harnessed the power of the Christian past through this aesthetic of spoliation and how they made the history of ancient asceticism express the tastes of contemporary monks. The ensuing discussion sets the context for the following chapters which deal with monastic gender and ritual practice.

One Rule and One Custom

The aesthetic of bricolage provides a framework for reinterpreting Carolingian monastic reform movements from the perspective of cultural history.¹⁹ The Carolingian monastic reformer and abbot Benedict of Aniane (ca. 750–821) collected ancient monastic rules from both East and West, including those of the Egyptian Pachomius and Basil, the Cappadocian exegete and ascetic. Benedict's stockpile of *regulae* had an educational and liturgical purpose, for over three hundred monks at Aniane heard daily lectures on these historic texts as part of their morning assembly.²⁰ The ultimate result of Benedict's thirty-year program of amassing documents from all over the empire is his famous *Concordia regularum* (*Harmony of the Rules*, ca. 820).²¹ In the *Concordia*, the Carolingian master administrator demonstrates how early ascetic practice harmonizes with each chapter of Benedict of Nursia's sixth-century rule, which the abbot of Aniane had worked hard to impose throughout the empire.²² Benedict's sacred biography, written by Ardo, a monk of Aniane, achieves the same ascetic harmony by focusing on the bodily transformation of the saint. Ardo traces the ascetic development of his spiritual mentor from the saint's initial experimentations with desert-style self-mortification to his inevitable submission to the temperate rhythms of the sixth-century Rule of Saint Benedict. In effect, the abbot of Aniane's ascetic résumé parallels the achievement of the codex of the *Concordia* in that it joins the history of Eastern and Western asceticism into one physical space: the body of the holy man.

At Hrabanus Maurus's monastery of Fulda, Abbot Eigil (ca. 818–22) created an architectural version of Benedict's *Harmony of the Rules*.²³ Just as the abbot of Aniane had sought to unite the ascetic practices of East and West in one, accessible space, Fulda's celebrated architectural renovations (ca. 790s–820s) embodied the history of Christian self-abnegation. The monks of Fulda dedicated an eastern crypt to the relics of luminaries of desert asceti-

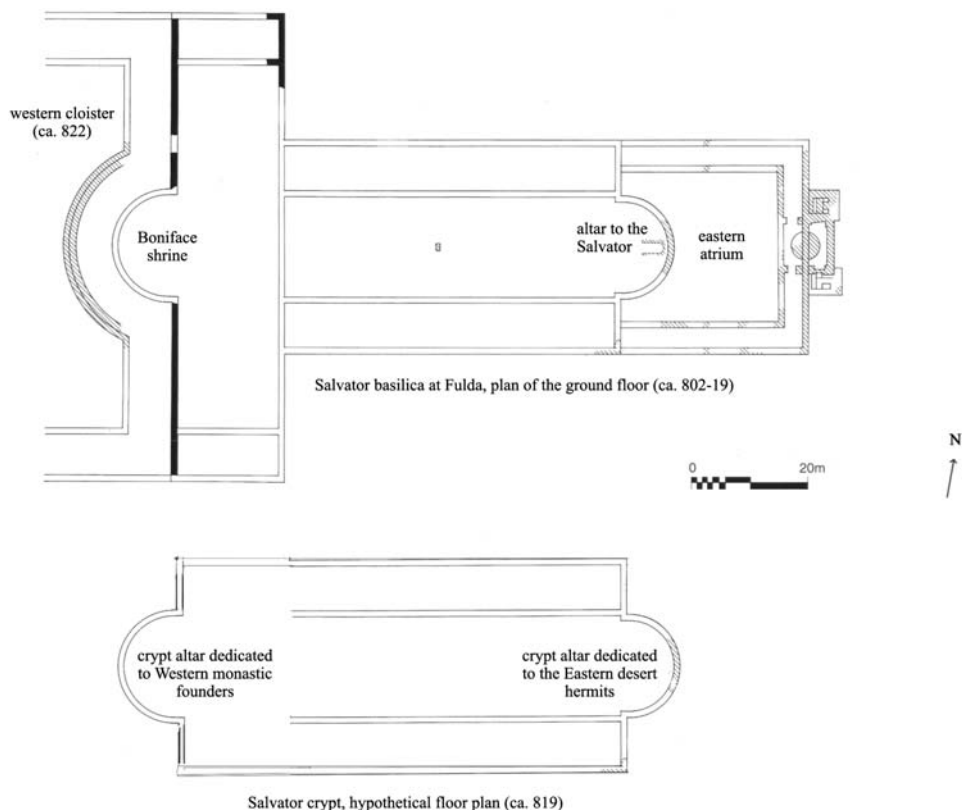


Figure 2.4. Salvator basilica at Fulda, Germany, plan of the ground floor (ca. 802–19), and hypothetical floor plan of the crypt (ca. 819). After Charles McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe: A.D. 600–900* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), fig. 162. Courtesy of Yale University Press.

cism, including the Egyptians Antony, Athanasius, and Paul of Thebes. The western crypt housed the remains of Italian and northern European ascetics and intellectuals: among others, Benedict of Nursia, Columbanus, Cuthbert, and Bede. The two crypts were the foundations upon which the monastic edifice arose, especially its distinguishing feature: the western apse shrine of Fulda's patron, the Anglo-Saxon missionary Boniface (ca. 680–754) (Figure 2.4). Pilgrims who came to Fulda to venerate the holy dead could negotiate the entire history of Christian asceticism by walking through the spaces of the two crypts, from its Egyptian origins through its northern European continuation. The basilica invited its spectators to experience the life and

martyrdom of Boniface as the climax of that history, and, by extension, the Fulda monks as its heirs.²⁴ Fulda's resident poet and future abbot Hrabanus composed a series of architectural *tituli* to commemorate the abbey's collecting of relics of Christ's passion, the apostles, Egyptian hermits, Roman martyrs, patristic authors, and northern missionaries.²⁵ Overall, the built environment of Fulda functions as a space for curiosities, wherein the Carolingian predilection for collecting ascetic and biblical artifacts is manifested.²⁶ The abbey basilica also offers architectural testimony for the monks' expertise at producing material histories of the evolution of the church, from its evangelical origins through its Frankish present.²⁷

The political message of both the Aniane and Fulda projects is clear: the West and its cenobitic founders represent the culmination of the grand narrative of Christian asceticism.²⁸ The evidence for this natural progression from East to West can be found in three distinct places: a codex, such as the *Concordia*; a body, such as that of a perfected monk; or a basilica, such as the Fulda abbey church. This fusion of Eastern and Western spiritual styles into a single space is part of a larger program of monastic reform, wherein Carolingian churchmen sought to assemble the disparate threads of past religious wisdom, collected from numerous, ancient volumes, into one codex.²⁹ The enterprise of collecting served a greater political ambition on the part of Carolingian abbots and royal dynasts: imposing "one rule and one custom" (*una regula, una consuetudo*) throughout the empire's monasteries.³⁰ For instance, the myth of the Egyptian desert summoned for its medieval progeny memories of a past age of superhuman asceticism that posed a challenge to Carolingian attempts at Benedictine hegemony and its goal of *una regula, una consuetudo*. In response, the architects of ninth-century monastic reform labored to present their votaries with a carefully controlled memory of the ascetic past, and they did so precisely through a propagandistic aesthetic of literary, visual, and ritual bricolage.

"One rule, one custom" is the motto of Carolingian monastic reform enacted through a number of ecclesiastical councils held in the empire during the mid-eighth through the ninth century. The precise meaning of the phrase, however, has undergone considerable revision in recent scholarship, as has the evaluation of its empire-wide success.³¹ Rather than echoing the rhetoric of uniformity and Benedictine hegemony produced in monastic reform circles and promulgated through imperial edicts and ecclesiastical canons, recent work on Carolingian monasticism has underscored vital, local ascetic and liturgical practices in the face of centralizing and Romanizing

programs, even documenting instances of resistance to such imperial initiatives. It is therefore no longer possible to view Carolingian monastic reform as an example of how a political “center,” that is, the Frankish court and its allied abbots, triumphed over the empire’s sacred “periphery,” or the frontier abbeys participating in local liturgical traditions counter to those advocated by the reformers.³²

The major goals of Carolingian monastic reform aimed to impose a uniform understanding of the Benedictine Rule on the monasteries of the north and to regularize a range of monastic practices—liturgical, educational, hygienic, material, and culinary. The drive for uniformity was part of a larger cultural imperative of promoting Romanizing styles over diverse regional ones.³³ The linguistic theater of monastic reform was especially important as it involved the recovery of a pure form of classical Latin grammar by purging its early medieval counterpart of “barbarous” elements to aid in the overall refinement of the liturgy.³⁴ For reformers, controversies could involve relatively minor issues such as whether or not animal fat could be used in ascetic cooking (as it is a by-product of meat) or major concerns such as whether or not all laymen should be expelled from a monastery’s refectory. In order to achieve both minor and major aims, ascetic intellectuals created a model for the monastic body that was superior to the bodies of lay and spiritual competitors: cathedral clergy, who lived lives more open to the world, and secular visitors, who were acutely immersed in that world.³⁵ Reformers looked to male and female ascetic bodies as indicators of the purity or impurity of the Frankish church. Clerical anxieties over maintaining the purity of ascetics translated into a heightened surveillance of the inner sanctum of the cloister, as the bodily integrity of individuals spoke to the spiritual intactness of an entire community.

Reformers thus created an image of the impenetrable ascetic practitioner moored to the cloister and possessing a body mirroring the perfect qualities of its foursquare space: bounded, off-limits to non ascetics, and linked to the celestial hierarchy through the cloister’s apocalyptic associations with heavenly Jerusalem, a “foursquare city” (Revelation 21.16). An ascetic’s identity, therefore, was visualized to a large degree by her or his body’s immersion in the power spaces of cloisters. Moreover, proponents of clerical reform advertised the fact that though Carolingian abbots functioned as potentates within the political and kinship networks of the empire, their identity remained firmly embedded in the habits and rhythms of foursquare space. In the pioneering spirit of bricolage, monastic elites promoted what they perceived of as

modern practices of the Rule over the “primitive” systems of ascetic traditions, including those associated with the wastelands of the eastern deserts and the flamboyant self-abnegation of Irish missionary monks.³⁶

By the ninth century, heated debate in ascetic and monarchical circles centered on sections of the Benedictine Rule where the original author’s meaning was obscure (where should an abbot eat or sleep?) or where his verdict appeared to contradict long-standing practices (how often should a healthy monk bathe?) or where Benedict was silent on a “modern-day” practice (when should a monk be bled?). It is clear that the legislation of Aachen 816 and Aachen 817 did not uphold a literal reading of the Rule as a number of edicts actively resist its directives or highlight that certain ninth-century practices prevail over those advocated by Benedict. It is equally true that some of the reformers attempted to subvert local traditions in favor of implementing stricter interpretations of the sixth-century Rule or even imposing “modernizing” and “universalizing” Roman liturgical systems on local practices. The Rule did leave a number of critical areas of ritual practice up to the discretion of the abbot or prior, a hierarchical remedy for variations in local climate or resources necessitating changes in practice. These ritual loopholes gave the Aachen reformers significant leeway in their approach to upholding the letter of the Rule. They could easily alter the text within the spirit of Benedict’s own method of ascetic administration.

The synod held at the Lateran in Aachen in August 816 directed participating abbots to return to their communities at the conclusion of the imperial council and to read the Rule of Benedict word by word (*per singula verba*) to their charges in a ritual performance of the text’s hegemony over the empire.³⁷ No doubt the reformers intended a “ripple effect”—waves of oral recitation of the Rule rolling out from Aachen to the remote frontiers. Chapter 2 of the Aachen 816 legislation mandated that all Carolingian monks must memorize the Rule and engrave its precepts on their hearts if they were capable of doing so.³⁸ The thirty-six *capitula* of Aachen 816 include a number of bans on existing ascetic practices: healthy monks were to take baths only at Christmas and Easter and to do so in separate tubs;³⁹ abbots were forbidden to eat with guests at a space set apart for such festivities traditionally located near the monastery’s entryway, and they were to sleep in the monks’ dorm and eat in the refectory;⁴⁰ monks were no longer to be bled at fixed times during the year but rather according to their individual corporeal needs;⁴¹ and healthy ascetics were not to eat the flesh of animals of any kind, not even fowl.⁴² In addition to feeding, cleansing, and bleeding the ascetic

body, monastic fashion too was an object for administrative scrutiny. The synod of 816 extended the range of ascetic accoutrement outlined in chapter 55 of the Benedictine Rule by adding head coverings, fur coats down to the ankles, summer and winter gloves, slippers, and other items of clothing.⁴³ Generations of northern European practitioners of the Rule of Saint Benedict obviously had layered the Carolingian ascetic body with a variety of travel, work, and prayer garments suitable for the winter climate of the region. Although these additions to monastic fashion went against the accessories specified by the letter of the Rule, they upheld its legislative spirit: “clothing distributed to the brothers should vary according to local conditions and climate” (RB 55.1).⁴⁴

Significantly, the 816 council mandated that the empire’s abbots move the workshops of their monastery inside the walls, an act in keeping with the reformers’ agenda of cutting off an ascetic community from the world.⁴⁵ With a number of workshops, a Carolingian abbey could be self-sufficient and sever ties with the artisan world beyond its boundaries. The 816 synod enforced the liturgical system mandated by the Benedictine Rule in order to cut down on elaborate, time-consuming liturgies.⁴⁶ Such a move clearly stemmed from the reformer’s desire to move monks out of the stranglehold of the oratory and into the arena of manual labor, as required by the Rule (RB 48). Finally, the reformers endeavored to plug up the permeable boundaries of a monastery by restricting the travel of individual monks and the ceremonial touring of abbots.⁴⁷

Historians of Carolingian monasticism interpret the forty-three canons of the council held a year later at Aachen in July 817 as retreating from the stricter exegesis of the Rule expressed by the 816 edicts, decrees bolstered by the reforming zeal of Benedict of Aniane.⁴⁸ For instance, on the issue of bathing, which the Rule states is an activity for the sick and the very young and not a routine ritual for healthy monks (RB 36.8), Aachen 817 relaxed the 816 canon by allowing the prior to decide the appropriate number of baths monks should take during the year, thereby giving individual houses a legal loophole for altering hygienic practice.⁴⁹ Aachen 817 allowed abbots to occupy separate residences (*cellae*) outside the inner cloister.⁵⁰ The council of 817 also ordered the removal of all laymen from the refectories of monastic houses, a move indicative of the purification vision of Carolingian reform.⁵¹ Yet subsequent church synods put elite lay bodies back into the dining halls of abbeys, a judgment that was contested by some monastic writers in the empire and ignored by individual houses.⁵²

The 817 synod also eased the 816 restriction on eating bird flesh, permitting monks to consume fowls during the high holy days of Christmas and Easter.⁵³ Aachen 817 prohibited the long-standing practice of housing schools serving both the laity and cathedral canons within the sacred enclosure of an abbey.⁵⁴ Classrooms situated within a monastery's perimeters were now to serve only oblates, future members of the inner ascetic ring. Surprisingly, visiting monks were sequestered from an abbey's sacred core: Aachen 817 insisted that sojourners be lodged in a guesthouse next to the basilica and not in the monks' dormitory, evidence of the problematic status of monk guests within an ascetic environment.⁵⁵ Perhaps such measures were taken because visiting monks were akin to lay guests, though the privileged location of the holy men's hostel next to the abbey's basilica spatially makes the case for their superior status to secular elites, who typically were lodged at a distance from sacred space. Both groups, however, were deemed insufficiently acculturated to the customs of the host institution to dwell in the monks' dormitory. To enforce these canons of the Aachen 816 and 817 synods, imperial messengers were sent out from the royal court to monitor their implementation.

In the end, Carolingian monastic orthodoxy was defined by the letter of the Benedictine Rule, because systems of orthodoxy center on canonical texts and their strict interpretation. The empire's orthopraxy, or ritual techniques acquired through living in an ascetic environment and learning its secrets on an apprentice model, remained wed to local innovation and experimentation.⁵⁶ Part of the political motivation behind the Aachen 816 and 817 synods therefore was to exercise control over the intangible oral component of monastic practice and to submit its improvisational nature to the seemingly stable authority of the written word. By the late eighth century, the Benedictine Rule itself had become an object of royal collecting. Charlemagne, arguably the best practitioner of Carolingian bricolage, obtained what he believed was a copy of the Rule penned by Benedict himself. Sometime before 797, the monarch had the treasured manuscript sent over the Alps from Benedict's monastery at Monte Cassino to be housed among his *spolia* at Aachen. The Rule remained there as a work of art, an antiquity to be celebrated and embodied throughout the empire's monasteries.⁵⁷

Literary Bricolage

The desirability of the Benedictine Rule as an antiquity to be collected exemplifies the Carolingian penchant for bricolage. Literary, visual, and ritual sys-

tems of bricolage worked to renegotiate the ascetic past in the service of contemporary spiritual and political concerns. In the realm of literary bricolage, the sacred biography of the architect of Carolingian reform, Benedict of Aniane, leaves its audiences with an ambiguous impression of the heroic qualities of the desert as part of a larger rhetorical strategy of proving how desert asceticism represented a corporeal practice to be trumped by “modern” monks. As an adult convert to the eremitic life, Benedict’s initial ascetic style is intensely Eastern. The holy man viewed his flesh as a “bloodthirsty beast” that must be conquered: “[Benedict] had a cheap old tunic that he did not change until many days had elapsed. Inevitably a colony of lice grew on his filthy skin, feeding on his limbs emaciated by fasts. His cowls were threadbare with extreme age.”⁵⁸ Furthermore, Ardo bids his audience to muse on a Benedict who is at first disdainful of his namesake’s rule: “Declaring that the Rule of blessed Benedict was for beginners and weak persons, he strove to climb up to the precepts of blessed Basil and the rule of blessed Pachomius.”

Ardo also uses the wizened, ill-clad body of the self-torturing Benedict as instructional text and cautionary tale. The neophyte monk expresses his contempt for the “lax” Benedictine Rule on his own flesh, rejecting the *Regula* as a fluff piece for “young recruits and the infirm.”⁵⁹ The hagiographer’s depiction of the militant asceticism, rituals of self-mortification so severe that they cause the holy man’s shriveled flesh to hang from his bones “like the dewlaps of oxen,” is so outrageous that it might just be farcical.⁶⁰ In fact, Ardo cleverly juxtaposes Benedict of Nursia’s final directive to his flock (“keep this little rule that we have written for beginners. After that, you can set out for the loftier summits of the teaching and virtues”) with the holy man’s extravagant performance of the Rule’s parting instruction.⁶¹ Clearly, the hagiographer wants his audience to associate the imperative to seek “the loftier summits” of ascetic practice with a stereotypical view of the Eastern-style, bone-jarring asceticism practiced by the inexperienced holy man.⁶²

Benedict’s hagiographer reports that the novice ceased this physical brutality to embrace the moderate asceticism and corporate culture of the Holy Rule: “He was inflamed with love of the Rule of Benedict, and like a new athlete [*novus atleta*] just back from single combat he entered the field to fight publicly.”⁶³ In this section of the *Vita*, the hagiographer plays off of a famous line of the Benedictine Rule, which suggests that perfected monks will eventually abandon the monastery for individual battle against the devil in the wilderness: “They [hermits] have built up their strength and go from

the battle line in the ranks of their brothers to the single combat of the desert.”⁶⁴ In Benedict of Nursia’s vision of the ascetic life, the monastery appears to be a transitional place for those destined for severe renunciation in the desert. The Carolingian version reverses the order of this vexing section of the Rule by demoting the desert to mere initiatory space, a preparatory stage in the early development of the cenobitic practitioner.⁶⁵ Whereas the *Concordia* offers harmony between the ascetic practices of East and West,⁶⁶ the *Vita* of Benedict of Aniane goes for dissonance: the *regulae* of Basil and Pachomius—the featured Eastern rules in the *Concordia*—lead the young monk to a self-conscious and apprentice-style asceticism. Ardo’s clever hagiographical strategy enables him to present his subject saint as a self-mutilator reformed by the wise sanction of the Benedictine Rule while still making the point that the ascetic prowess of this Carolingian monk could have trumped the legendary austerity of the Egyptian fathers.

The presence of Eastern rules in the *Vita* enables Ardo to display his knowledge (and ownership) of historic texts, while his ascetic portrait of the abbot of Aniane makes it clear that the Western ascetic regime has eclipsed its desert counterpart. Of course, Ardo did not know Benedict in his early days, so his information on the holy man is not based on an eyewitness account, but rather on how the hagiographer imagined Benedict might have lived. Importantly, the *Life of Benedict* implies something about the expectations Ardo had of his audience’s repertoire of cultural references. Carolingian monks were to be well versed in Eastern ascetic lore and to understand the desert as a beginning point on an upward spiritual trajectory.

Carolingian hagiographers employ this skillful literary tactic of incorporating, superseding, and inevitably rejecting desert rigor throughout the sacred biographies of the “founding fathers” of Frankish monasticism. For instance, Abbot Eigil’s biography of the founder of Fulda, Sturm (ca. 715–79), transforms the cloister’s neighboring hills and forests, a region referred to as Buchonia in Carolingian texts, into desert landscapes and the saint and his hermit votaries into Golden Age ascetics.⁶⁷ According to Eigil, Sturm, a Bavarian nobleman and disciple of Boniface, abandons his fledgling career as a priest-scholar to take up the penitential life in the wilderness around the future site of the abbey of Fulda. Sturm and two other hermits enter this wooded region and build a hermitage at Hersfeld. In imitation of Egyptian anchorites who fashion primitive dwellings using local materials, the Sturm group build shabby cells (*habitalia*) and roof them with the bark of trees.⁶⁸ Living in “uncultivated places of solitude” (*solitudinis agrestia loca*), the her-

mits could see only earth, sky, and trees.⁶⁹ The structure of the hermitage symbolically links its inhabitants to the natural world, for the ascetics are but feral beings on the fringes of society. The Sturm group rejects intoxicating drink because, the hagiographer stresses, sacred texts spell out that intoxicants are incompatible with the starkness of anchoritic life.⁷⁰ The rejection of alcohol enables the latter-day, wine-drinking Fulda community to share in the abstemious desert style of the original group. Eigil describes the hermit Sturm as fettering himself to a squalid and confining desert lifestyle.⁷¹

During one of the saint's forays into the Frankish badlands, Sturm encounters a throng of naked Slavs swimming and bathing in the channel of the River Fulda.⁷² The Slavs' foul stench repels both the holy man and his faithful donkey in a rather clumsy re-creation of the famous story from the Torah of the prophet Balaam and his talking she-ass.⁷³ Balaam is an appealing figure for hagiographers of Carolingian frontier saints because the Mesopotamian prophet resides in a middle ground between God's chosen people (the Israelites) and neighboring infidels (the Moabites). Like Balaam's donkey, Sturm's beast of burden can see supernatural beings, for the stinking Slavs cause the creature to quiver with fear. The Slavs thus assume the role of polluted and lascivious desert demons, who taunt the roving holy man and his spiritually acute ass. The textual portrait of these depraved pagans would bring to the initiated reader's mind stories of traveling hermits menaced by desert nomads.⁷⁴

In the face of such enemies, Sturm leaves his hermitage located on "higher ground," a spot favored by first-covenant prophets, including Balaam, who blesses the Israelites atop a mountain cliff overlooking a "wasteland."⁷⁵ Reminiscent of Balaam, Sturm occupies a liminal space between God's elect (Christians) and idolatrous populations (pagan Slavs). The holy man's retreat to a craggy hilltop to escape the demonic Slavs is a clear metaphor for the spiritual ascent accomplished through the treacherous life of self-abnegation. In this section of the *Vita*, Eigil intensifies the exoticism of place by presenting Buchonia as a frontier zone between the civilized West and the barbarous East.⁷⁶ Chapter 5 of the *Vita* achieves a similar rhetorical effect by having Sturm's spiritual guru, Boniface, urge the hermit to withdraw further into the wilderness because the Saxons, described here as a savage and ferocious tribe (*gens barbarica; feroces Saxones*), are terrorizing the region.⁷⁷

In Eigil's hagiographical vision, Buchonia emerges as a barbarous solitude, an exotic wasteland where Fulda's founders eke out a bleak existence in

a cramped hermitage, a desert-like forerunner to the impressive community later ruled by Sturm's hagiographer, Abbot Eigil (818–22).⁷⁸ The landscape presented in the *Life*, however, is largely an imagined one, for the hagiographer belies the region's true character: the hermits take advantage of well-traveled routes, cross bridges over the River Fulda, and admire Buchonia's fountains and springs. Eigil's audience—the monks of Fulda, who listened each year on the saint's feast day to liturgical readings from the *Vita Sturmi*—would have been struck by the disharmony between the hagiographer's invented topography and their own intimate knowledge of the monastery's lush, well-watered hinterland.⁷⁹

Nevertheless, at the Benedictine Fulda of Eigil's day, public readings from the lives of desert fathers created a lively mental space for the monks' understanding of the Sturm legend as a Western corollary to an Eastern anchoritic tradition.⁸⁰ Through this liturgical system, the *vita* of Fulda's founder became part of the classic corpus of desert lore. In addition, the *Vita Sturmi* achieves what Eigil's reconstruction of the abbey basilica and his addition of two hall crypts had accomplished: the union of Eastern and Western ascetic practice in one narrative space. While the abbey's impressive relic collection imparts to its pilgrim audience a material history of Christian asceticism, the familiar terrain of Buchonia, which Sturm's successors could visit and touch provides a memory stage for their own private musings on the evolution of the ascetic life. As part of a meditative exercise, the monks of Fulda could imaginatively map onto the abbey's woodlands and peaks biblical and Benedictine narratives of place. Journeying through Buchonia, then, became a way of navigating through the various layers of ascetic history.⁸¹

The didactic agenda of Eigil's *Vita Sturmi* also dovetails nicely with that of Ardo's *Vita Benedicti*, the life of Benedict of Aniane. Sturm's path to the cenobitic life begins after his conversion to a desert style of asceticism, again reversing Benedict of Nursia's original vision of the *coenobium* as a training ground for future desert hermits. Sturm first is priest and exegete, then squalid hermit, and finally loyal devotee of the Benedictine Rule. His first attempts to create a hermitage are peripatetic: the anchorite keeps moving on to find better, higher ground. In contrast, the site of the future Benedictine community at Fulda is a holy spot preordained by God; it personifies Benedictine *stabilitas loci*.⁸² In Eigil's *Vita Sturmi*, Sturm passionately converts to the Benedictine system, and Eigil represents the saint's conversion through the language of the Rule itself, a vocabulary immediately recognizable to any

monk, but especially to Carolingian Benedictines, who were required by law to commit the Rule to memory.⁸³ The saint “inclines” both soul and mind to the Rule and submits his body to its disciplinary techniques.⁸⁴

The early sections of Eigil’s sacred biography of Sturm intimate that the holy man’s embrace of the Rule as well as Fulda’s later incarnation as bulky Benedictine community (over six hundred monks) and architectural wonder are inevitable events.⁸⁵ Sturm’s criteria for selecting the site for his community include fertile soil and an ample supply of water, echoing the Rule’s discussion of the location of an ideal, self-sufficient monastery.⁸⁶ Eigil depicts the hermit Sturm as a skilled craftsman who fells trees with a special tool and erects animal pens in a single night.⁸⁷ The anchorite’s construction of the primitive hermitage at Hersfeld is but a first step in an increasingly sophisticated career as a builder. Sturm metamorphoses from itinerant hermit to Benedictine abbot, always with increasing mechanical proficiency. As hermit, Sturm is a craftsman and carpenter, and his first building site at Hersfeld evokes the earliest, most rudimentary examples of desert architecture, which consisted of a diffusion of huts of individual hermits loosely connected to the cell of an ascetic leader.⁸⁸

Sturm the builder-hermit is contrasted with Sturm the abbot-engineer, who carves out intricate systems of water canals to serve his growing community.⁸⁹ Abbot Sturm is also committed to architecture. The former hermit oversees construction of a colonnaded basilica (98 feet 5 inches long and 65 feet 7 inches wide) with an eastern apse measuring 36 feet 1 inch in diameter (ca. 751).⁹⁰ Sturm later (ca. 770) installs in the nave near the western lay entrance a reliquary tomb (*reliquies*) for his martyred mentor, Boniface, and he does so, Eigil emphasizes, with wondrous dexterity (*pulchro opere condidit*).⁹¹ This progression from hermit-craftsman to abbot-architect speaks to a uniquely Carolingian style of asceticism: one that fuses a Benedictine memory of Egyptian “primitivism,” evoked by the little bark-roofed huts at Hersfeld, with the monks’ own vision of Frankish modernity materialized in technologically sophisticated edifices with symbolic programs.

Visual Bricolage

The architectural ambitions of the abbots of Fulda were singular in terms of the scale of their work and their decision to visualize the abbey’s special relationship with the papacy. Fulda’s building program has been the subject

of outstanding work in the field of architectural history over the past six decades.⁹² German scholars of early medieval architectural history have noted that the reconstruction of Fulda's abbey basilica (the Salvator), begun under the ambitious and controversial Abbot Ratgar and completed under Abbot Eigil, is the first example of a truly "modern" church north of the Alps.⁹³ The Salvator offers remarkable testimony to the technical expertise and organizational skills of the architects of the Carolingian era as well as to the increasing role of monks in monumental building.⁹⁴ In no other period in the Western history of architecture were abbots themselves more active as builders than during the early Middle Ages.⁹⁵ At the time of its consecration (819), the Salvator's nave measured 207 feet 8 inches long and 54 feet 9 inches wide and included two apses: a semicircular one in the east and, in the west, a huge, continuous transept (252 feet 7 inches long and 55 feet 9 inches wide) and semicircular apse.⁹⁶ As noted in Chapter 1, the basilica's scale evokes that of Saint John Lateran in Rome, the heart of the medieval papacy. The Salvator's western transept—down to its eccentric features like being extremely narrow and closing off each end with colonnades—recreates the idiosyncratic transept of Old Saint Peter's.⁹⁷

In a similar vein, the cloister at Fulda, moved in 822 from its original location in the south to the west, preserves the memory of the classic atria (large, colonnaded courtyards designed to accommodate pilgrims) of early Roman basilicas, including Saint Paul's outside the walls, which had a western atrium. Fulda's lay pilgrims, like those who visited Saint Peter's in Rome, entered the basilica through a new eastern atrium (82 feet by 82 feet), as the western part of the church now belonged exclusively to the monks, whose bodies were made holy by proximity to the martyr.⁹⁸ Fulda's western transept functioned in a manner similar to that of Saint Peter's: the transept offered a private gathering space—a *martyria*—where pilgrims and worshippers (or, in the case of Fulda, monks only) could assemble outside the more public space of the basilica.⁹⁹ Moreover, approximately 50 percent of the relics transferred into the reconstructed Salvator basilica by 819 were of Roman origin, and their incorporation into Eigil's newly constructed crypts links the abbey with the subterranean spaces of the Roman catacombs.¹⁰⁰ Finally, the new location of the Boniface shrine copies the location, dimensions, and elevation of the apostle Peter's tomb at his pilgrim basilica in Rome.¹⁰¹ Above all, the Fulda clerks aspired to be like the Romans.¹⁰²

The effect of this building campaign was to orient the entire abbey complex toward the west: western cloister, colossal western transept, and western

apse shrine to the Apostle of the Germans, Boniface. Fulda's architects successfully transformed the liturgical center of the basilica from its sacred eastern apse to the west and Boniface.¹⁰³ The renovation of the Salvator rotated the built environment of Fulda toward Rome and the papacy, something Eigil also achieves in his *Life of Sturm* by having the former hermit turn his ascetic gaze from the eastern deserts and toward Rome. In the *Life*, Sturm travels to Rome (ca. 747–48), where he is initiated into a Roman style of asceticism.¹⁰⁴ Sturm, through Boniface's intercession, successfully places Fulda under the direct protection of Saint Peter rather than under the authority of the bishop of Mainz.¹⁰⁵ In a sophisticated manner, the Fulda abbots mapped the numinous topography of early Christian Rome onto the spatial arrangements of the Salvator, its crypts, and its adjacent cloister, thereby rendering the complex an architectural embodiment of the relationship between the abbey and the papacy. Fulda as Rome represents a final layer in a complex series of symbolic strata imposed on the abbey and its hinterland: Hebrew wilderness, Egyptian desert, Roman catacomb, coenobitic marvel, and apostolic basilica.

Fulda's landscapes, whether built, natural, or even imagined, articulate brilliantly the method by which Carolingian monastic intellectuals controlled access to and understanding of the ascetic past. The enormous relic collection of the abbey and its satellite churches (ca. 819–38) bring together in Buchonia the conceptual remains of the history of Christendom.¹⁰⁶ The collection is both exotic (a chunk of Mount Sinai)¹⁰⁷ and familiar (the relics of local saints, including Sturm and Boniface). The Fulda monks, as proprietors of this material history, mediated access to the sponge (*spongia*) with which Roman soldiers offered Christ a vinegary drink, a bit of the column on which Christ was scourged, a portion of Peter's chains, and an array of relics (*spolia*) from every classification of holy person: archangels, apostles, martyrs, Eastern hermits, church fathers, missionaries, monastic founders, intellectuals, and popes. The collection includes *spolia* of the patron saints of major Roman basilicas, echoing the Salvator's re-creation of the Christian landscapes of late antique Rome.¹⁰⁸

Like all first-rate collectors, the Fulda abbots displayed their tastes and interests through the assemblage of precious artifacts. The biblical and desert landscapes so crucial to the crafting of house hagiographies like the *Vita Sturmi* materialize in the abbey's collection of the vestiges of Hebrew terrain and relics of legendary Egyptian hermits.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the memory of the abbey's founder is embedded in the idiosyncratic, swirling Ionic capitals taken

from Sturm's eighth-century basilica and featured as historic *spolia* both in the ninth-century Salvator and in the Michael Rotunda crypt.¹¹⁰

Fulda's history thus has become an object of sacred collecting. Moreover, the most influential texts of Fulda's renowned scriptorium find material parallels in the monastery's crypts and churches, where the relics of Augustine of Hippo, Ambrose of Milan, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, and the Northumbrian Bede could be inspected.¹¹¹ The relics of principal monastic founders, Antony, Martin, Benedict, Columbanus, Sturm, and Boniface, too, were available for scrutiny as were a diverse array of Irish, Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, Iberian, Gallic, Italian, North African, Syrian, and Egyptian saints. The eclecticism of Fulda's relics illuminates the abbey's project of stockpiling a history of Christianity from antiquity to more contemporary times.

Ritual Bricolage

The same eclecticism is mirrored in early medieval monastic practice, as evidenced by detailed commentaries on the Rule, such as that written by Hildemar of Civate, a monastery in the diocese of Milan.¹¹² Hildemar's *Expositio* (ca. 845) emulates Fulda's Salvator basilica in that its ascetic history covers similar ground: from ancient Christianity to the mid-ninth century. For Hildemar, the charisma of the desert is something to be embodied through habitual, disciplinary practices. His commentary is a reckoning of every aspect of the lives of the monks of Civate, from the ideal measurements of their cloister to the appropriate amount of soap stored in containers (*vascula*) kept next to their beds.¹¹³ The *Expositio* stems from the setting of the Carolingian monastic classroom, for its extant manuscript versions were culled from student notes taken during the magister's long lectures on the Rule.¹¹⁴ Hildemar's sources are impressive and include biblical, desert, patristic, classical, and contemporary texts, reflecting the exceptional tastes and political interests of ninth-century connoisseurs. In the exquisite style of Carolingian bricolage, Hildemar fuses lessons on the Rule with instruction in grammar, etymologies, poetry, and medicine; he pairs Virgil's poetic description of the evening with Benedict's teachings on the night office.¹¹⁵ His lectures, which frequently cite desert *exempla*, capture the power of eremitic practice by relocating it in the daily habits of Civate's students.

The *Expositio* affords the reader a unique glimpse into how the desert could be realized in early medieval Italy through carefully controlled bodily

habits.¹¹⁶ For Hildemar, the body of a Benedictine monk functions figuratively as a stage for remembering the “huge silence” (*silentium ingens*) and “vast solitude” (*vastissima solitudo*) of the Egyptian desert.¹¹⁷ For Carolingian monks, rituals of silence bring to mind both the legendary topography of the Egyptian desert as well as the hermits’ reputation for strict control over speech and purity of language.¹¹⁸ Hildemar regards silence as a chief mortification of the body.¹¹⁹ The monk’s mouth, he reasons, should be like an eternal cloister (*aeterna clausura*), a permanent barrier (*perpetuus murus*) between the interior man and the external world.¹²⁰ Control over what crosses over that boundary must parallel the limited access to the inner cloister of the monastery. The cloister itself emerges in Hildemar’s writings as a space for silent contemplation and reading as well as a place where speech is severely restricted. In this sense, the *claustrum* functions symbolically as a desert-like, contemplative space within a larger monastic complex.¹²¹ In fact, Hildemar refers to the *claustrum* of the monastery as the wilderness the ancient Israelites entered after they had traversed the Red Sea.¹²² Simultaneously, the cloister is an architectural rendering of the inner being of the monk, for Hildemar moors the meditative “inner man” to the cloister and the “exterior man” to the sections of the monastery more involved with external affairs.¹²³

Like silent contemplation, pain or discomfort in the body can provoke memories of desert austerity. Ritual practices of eating and fasting therefore link a contemporary monk to an ancient eremitic tradition. The desert fathers had a troubled relationship with food: on the one hand, eating sustains the body; on the other, its consumption underscores human frailty. According to legendary accounts, some desert fathers ate only while standing, others hid their consumption of food by covering their heads with their cowls, and a few ate little at all. In the medieval monastery, where the precise times for eating as well as the quantity and nature of the food eaten were intensely monitored, the monks’ habit of eating in unheated refectories purposely lessened the pleasure of savoring food by chilling the person consuming it.¹²⁴ For the monks of Civate, eating remains a deeply charged activity, for it is a dangerous stimulant to desire and excess. Eating vile foods, Hildemar makes clear, is a correction to this.¹²⁵ Through the chilling of the body at the refectory and the avoidance of luxurious foods, Carolingian monks could share in the ambiguous desert attitude toward ingestion, which they would have known well through their group readings of desert texts.¹²⁶

Hildemar also informs his students that the regulation of what goes into their bodies connects them to an ancient tradition, where abstention from

eating flesh (as flesh incites the flesh) and drinking intoxicants, in addition to periods of fasting, function as fundamental markers of desert identity. The authority of the desert diet could be summoned to solve major ascetic controversies of the day, such as whether or not monks should eat cheese. Hildemar explains to his class that as Egyptian hermits ate cheese, modern monks clearly have license to do so.¹²⁷ Fish is not only allowed, but eating it symbolically connects a monk to the resurrected body of Christ, for the risen Jesus ate fish, as did the apostles and the ancient hermits in imitation of the Savior.¹²⁸ In the medieval and early modern worlds, “fish could be considered a poor man’s food, a food for Lent and Friday fasting.”¹²⁹ Eating fish therefore unites the monk of Hildemar’s day to an ancestral lineage of Christian asceticism, just as the refusal to take in flesh disconnects the monastic body from its secular counterpart.¹³⁰ In fact, at Civate, only very young boys and the sick are routinely given meat to eat; as they mature to manhood, they are weaned off flesh; monastic masculinity, therefore, is linked to abstinence from meat.¹³¹ Overindulgence in food and drink (*crapula*) causes unclean fluids to pass over the sacred, cloister-like boundary of a monk’s mouth, and the act of vomiting is a visible testimony both to an ascetic’s feminizing desire for excess and an inability to link oneself with the masculine ethos of desert piety.¹³²

Through giving lectures on the bodily practices outlined in the Rule, Hildemar imposes layers of ascetic history onto the ritual life of the monks of Civate. Fasting and corporeal punishment, ritual practices that cause pain and discomfort in the body and thereby spark memories of desert austerity, connect Benedictines to the Egyptian wilderness. Pieces of monastic garb too, such as the scapular, link a monk to an ancient anchorite, for a scapular, Hildemar explains, preserves a memory of the sheepskin garment put on by desert hermits while toiling.¹³³ Liturgical customs (desert traditions of singing twelve psalms), ablutions (routine washings after nocturnal emissions), manual labors (modeled after those of desert luminaries), and ritual prostrations (desert humility embodied through the bowing of the head toward the ground), and anxieties over bathing (whether or not a monk should bathe) all find their origin in the desert, and they continue in unbroken fashion, monastic educators stress, in the liturgical and ritual rhythms of the monastery of the ninth century.¹³⁴ The routine reading of the desert corpus would make it clear to the monks of Civate that their material and bodily habits stem from eremitic custom.

Yet there is considerable disharmony between these ancient and modern practices. The monks of Civate heard lectures on the primitive and exotic nature of desert table manners. Cappadocian ascetics began the practice of having public readings during meals, Hildemar elucidates, not to enforce spiritual discipline among the ascetics but rather to extinguish frivolous speech or quarreling, activities often occasioned by communal eating. The Carolingian magister also explains to his students the notorious practice of the Egyptian ascetics of Tabennesis, whose reputation for disciplinary silence was so intense that during meals they would draw their cowls down over their heads to prevent their curious eyes from wandering along the table or looking at their table companions.¹³⁵ In his lecture on eating habits, Hildemar signals to his disciples a break between desert habits of ingestion and the Benedictine practice of his day. In the old days of Christian asceticism, he stresses, it used to be the case that while monks ate, they were always read to, but that this was done only to quell tale-telling or prevent scandalous behaviors. In Egypt, the focus of the hermits' eyes is down, toward the table; but for "modern monks," the public *lectio* edifies an already well-disciplined audience. Their attention then is drawn up from the table and toward heavenly things.¹³⁶ The message here is clear: the Benedictine system is more successful than its desert counterpart at creating docile ascetic bodies.

The edificatory nature of the cenobitic *lectio* is part of a larger theme in the *Expositio*: the motif of Carolingian eloquence. Eloquence is what distinguishes the modern ascetic practitioner from his desert ancestor. The monastery of Hildemar's day creates a hierarchy based on the eloquence of the tongue, for the key to assuming a top position within the monastery is masterful use of the voice, a preoccupation shared by classical orators and rhetoricians. Whereas the Christian ascetics of John Cassian's era strove to empty their minds of rote-learned classical texts, Carolingian masters return to classical grammarians and orators (Cicero, Quintilian, Priscian, Victorinus, and Severus) and fuse their views on perfect speech with those of patristic and "modern" theorists of speech and rhetoric (Ambrose, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, Bede, Alcuin).¹³⁷ The goal of this Carolingian fusion is the further refinement of liturgical speech. Hildemar says: "The grammarians are essential because they teach rightly and clearly the obscure art of how to accent words while reading aloud and how to distinguish sounds."¹³⁸ Proper accenting, stresses on words, pitch, pronunciation, and modulation of the voice are major concerns for the early medieval lector. Overall, the monastic orator must be of sufficient proficiency to use his voice as an instrument through which he penetrates the intellects of his hearers.

At Civate, this expert liturgical voice generates a corporate hierarchy. Perfected monks are granted more freedom to speak, and when they do, they are to utter only eloquent, wise words. Those who are less capable of understanding the rudiments of Latin grammar possess lesser rank, for grammar is a critical pathway to God. In fact, imperfect monks are not to speak at all, for, as the Rule explicitly states, the tongue has the power to kill.¹³⁹ Unrestrained speech leads to lascivious acts. Hildemar warns his pupils that they are to “hear and be silent” while he is to “teach and speak.”¹⁴⁰ The most brilliant cantors in the community have more leeway regarding the disciplinary culture of the Rule than their less talented peers. Hildemar adds grammar and chant to the list of monastic labors, and he includes grammarians and cantors in the ranks of the monastery’s artisan class.¹⁴¹ The abbot must be a gifted cantor as well as a learned scholar; he sits atop a hierarchy of chanters who possess varying talents. In this community, the act of public reading is a major art form, one relying both on the “custom of the ancients” and the teachings of “modern masters.” It is an artistic skill that produces ritual and communal status. Of course, God is the most powerful orator in the community, and the monks who share the deity’s nature are those who have the most access to ritual speech, especially in blessing and excommunicating.¹⁴² The strongest monks therefore are those who come closest to exemplifying the disembodied voice of God.¹⁴³

The *Expositio* of Hildemar of Civate, like the house hagiographies of Fulda and Aniane as well as the symbolic program of the Salvator basilica, reveals the conflicted relationship Carolingian ascetic intellectuals had with the legacy of the Egyptian desert. On the one hand, bodily practices and ritual gestures link the monks of Civate to their eremitic ancestors. On the other hand, Hildemar demonstrates where the modern, more erudite practices of his day trump the heritage of the desert. Eloquence, necessitated by the complex and expanded liturgical requirements of the ninth century (and the expanded sacred spaces designed to accommodate them, such as Fulda’s Salvator), separated the Benedictines from their (supposedly) more literal-minded Cappadocian and Egyptian counterparts.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, Hildemar argues that desert *regulae* restrain more the exterior (hence inferior) man, while the Rule of blessed Benedict works more to rein in the inner man.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, the magister of Civate suggests to his students that desert asceticism is sheer physicality: it is something that an individual monk can perform (fasts, beating, silence, penance, prostration). Perfection, however, lies beyond doing—it rests in the realm of the truly gifted, those few who can use the

expert, liturgical voice to transcend the body and enter the celestial realms. The legacy of the desert then becomes part of the routine, the daily, and the habitual. It is an ascetic practice mastered and surpassed by ninth-century monks.

As practitioners of bricolage, the spiritual leadership of the abbey of Fulda turned to “the material culture of the past in order to bolster the present.”¹⁴⁶ These abbot connoisseurs reduced the Golden Age narrative of the Egyptian desert to mere initiatory phase for the inevitable rise of the Benedictine order in the West and its Carolingian alliance with the papacy. For the pilgrims who came to the abbey to tour its hallowed collections, the desert, now symbolically housed in the eastern crypt, was but a first stop on the virtual tour through a linear, progressive history of asceticism. For the Fulda monks, house hagiographies mediated the potency of Egyptian austerity by relegating desert rigor to an initial stage in a holy man’s cenobitic career. In the daily lectures of Carolingian monastic educators, which were built on a bricolage of classical, biblical, late antique, and early medieval texts, novices learned to relegate the desert to bodily practice and to see the cloister’s modernizing liturgical spaces as spiritual arenas inhabited by eloquent lectors who transcend desert physicality. When viewed as a spatial whole, Carolingian material, ritual, and textual histories work together to incorporate, manage, and supersede the legacy of the Egyptian past.

Chapter 3

Gendering the Benedictine Rule

Chapter 38 of the Benedictine Rule draws the audience's attention to the special skills required of the weekly reader (the *lector*) as well as the spiritual dangers associated with the practice of public reading (the *lectio*) performed during meals taken in the monastery's refectory. When eating, monks are to remain absolutely silent—no whispering, no speaking of any kind is to occur in the dining hall. Speech belongs solely to the designated *lector*, though intriguingly the Rule does allow the seated congregation to request things during repasts by making audible signals in ways other than through verbal communication (RB 38.7).¹ The ritual setting of the refectory creates tension between a speaking monk, who serves as the community's public voice, and a silent congregation, who function as receptive ears to biblical language. In fact, the first body part mentioned in the Rule is the ear, a literary strategy accentuating the audience's standing as passive receptors to the language of monastic discipline (RB prologue 1). Moreover, chapter 6 of the Rule highlights this metaphoric anatomy by stating that "speaking and teaching are the master's task; the disciple is to be silent and listen."² Anxious to equip the leadership of the monastery with ultimate verbal power, the Rule makes an exception to the community-wide ban on speech in the refectory: "The prior, however, may wish to say a few words of instruction" (RB 38.9).³

The early medieval monastic art of reading is a charged theological and political activity. Yet the practice of reading broke through the carefully orchestrated hierarchy of the community: "Brothers will read and sing, not according to rank, but according to their ability to benefit their hearers" (RB 38.12).⁴ The lector possesses the power to yoke the community to the hierarchy of the heavens, as the Rule's directive makes clear by commanding the weekly reader to begin with the scriptural verse: "Lord, open my lips" (Psalm

51.15). The lector, whose lips God now has parted, is not allowed to eat with his mute brothers during the meal. Instead, he is given diluted wine to drink to ward off hunger and, more important, to function as a ritual mouthwash with which to cleanse his palate so that he may partake of the delicacies of the Word.⁵ Taking the Word of God into the mouth is a singular, powerful activity in the monastic community, one subject to meticulous human and divine surveillance and one capable of sparking intense anxiety. After all, the *lectio* is a perilous venture—it could ignite pride in its ritual experts, for the Rule sets *lectores* apart as exceptional on account of their talents: “The reader should not be the one who just happens to pick up the book.”⁶ Furthermore, the Rule describes the refectory as a space open to demonic assault, especially when its all-encompassing silence is violated by loquacious monks. In the refectory silence operates as a mystical prophylactic against the Evil One; sanctioned speech serves as the community’s conduit to the Crucified One.⁷

The goal of Benedictine practice is to transform, symbolically speaking, the most proficient votaries into “all voice” and “no body.” Chapter 38 of the Rule makes this ritual system clear: the lector, whose voice and purified mouth fills the refectory like a disembodied spirit, stands in stark contrast to the seated brothers, who are engaged in an act that both sustains life and underscores the body, *eating*. Significantly, the Benedictine body parallels that of its upper-class Roman male (*vir*) counterpart, as redefined by classicists, who assert: “The definition of the *vir* can thus be restated more simply as freedom from or transcendence of the body, penetrated as it is by a host of pleasures and pains.”⁸ Nowhere was this definition more pronounced—and more tested—than within the space of the Roman dining room, the sumptuous *triclinium* with its opulent fare, paintings and statues, garden views, perfumed diners, and sexually available slaves. Dining in ancient Rome occasioned stress among its elite banqueters because on the one hand, *viri* were to distance themselves from their bodily appetites, sensations too closely associated with those experienced by the insatiable prostitute or the starving slave, both of whom were deeply immersed in the body. As Cicero saw it, the Roman *triclinium* should serve more as an expression of community and shared *paideia* and less as a vehicle for experiencing physical pleasures. On the other hand, the *triclinium* was devoted to displaying status, patronage, and *luxuria* in forms touching all five senses. It was a space especially devoted to the mouth, a bodily aperture that takes “pleasure in its activities (chewing, sucking, licking, biting) and its confusion with other orifices.”⁹

Classical scholars invite us to imagine the Roman *triclinium* as a sparring ground where the threat of corporeal pleasures, eating, viewing erotic paintings, handling equally erotic tableware, impinges on the elite Roman notion of self, an identity crafted through resistance to gastric and sexual temptations, both deemed lower class in origin. In the Roman *triclinium*, the self is “invited into the body, if only so it can resist.”¹⁰ This model of classical dining offers much to the interpreter of the Benedictine refectory, as the rituals outlined in chapter 38 of the Rule make clear. The *refectio*, like the Roman *triclinium*, is a space where the body penetrates the self in a variety of ways: through the mouth either by “chewing, sucking, licking, biting” or by issuing the Word from pure lips; through the ear, a passive orifice, which takes the Word into the body or actively monitors the *refectio* for violations of the prohibition on speech; or through the eye and its veiled glances at the bodies of other diners, the body of the highly visible lector, or, by the Carolingian era, the body of the Crucified One triumphantly displayed over the head table.¹¹ Like the Roman *triclinium* with its hierarchical seating arrangements on couches, the Benedictine *refectio* produces status through its ordering of bodies along tables via rank or by singling out the body of a monk skilled in the classical arts of public oration. Early medieval scholars, including Hrabanus Maurus, were familiar with the composition of the three couches of the Roman dining room, and they connected the classical art of oratory directly with the practice of monastic reading in the refectory.¹²

In the monastic dining hall, the distance separating the lector from the diners is edifying, as this spatial division underscores the breach between divine speech and physical sensation. In the refectory, language is granted to the lector. In contrast, the seated, dining monks, who are visibly immersed in the body, make use only of audible signals outside the realm of human speech thereby reducing their bodies to bestial status. The spatial practices of the monastic refectory sum up the goal of the Benedictine venture: moving a monk away from the place of man, which is “in the body” (represented by the communal space of the seated diners), and into the realm of the divine, which is “in the voice” (symbolized by the privileged space of the lector).¹³ The gender dynamics of this ascetic philosophy are obvious: language elevates monks to a masculine, spiritual arena; the body moves them down into a labile, feminine register. The entire system hinges on the tension between these two realms, for the body—far from being irrelevant or even an obstacle to the ascetic enterprise—is a sparring ground for the spirit’s ascent.¹⁴ So-

matic transcendence is the real test of virility, for both the disciplined Roman banqueter and his abstemious Benedictine counterpart.¹⁵

This chapter genders the sixth-century Rule of Saint Benedict to delineate the gendered hierarchy produced by monastic practice.¹⁶ The enterprise of gendering the Benedictine Rule is indebted to the work of other scholars, who have added gender, body techniques of ritual, rhetoric, and spatial practice to the investigation of the cultural world of Roman orators and late ancient ascetics.¹⁷ The approach taken in this chapter solves the methodological quandary of how to gender an all-male community, a topic gender theorists who focus on the modern era have grappled with in some detail.¹⁸ The analysis answers a key question: why do texts such as the Rule, wherein the *female* is (almost) entirely absent, multiply the *feminine*? This puzzle is best solved by taking the reader through the complex hierarchical, spatial, and ritual spheres outlined in the Rule to reveal continuities as well as discontinuities between the classical Roman gender system and the one generated by the early medieval Rule. Importantly, Chapter 3 provides the necessary background for understanding how the Carolingians extended the ritual, gendered, and spatial practices outlined in the Rule of Saint Benedict, the subject of Chapter 4.

The Rule

The Rule attributed to an obscure Italian ascetic Benedict of Nursia (ca. 550)—an attribution with origins in the eighth century when early manuscripts identify the text with its reputed author—has been subject to much scholarly inquiry and debate during the last seventy years as to its origins, originality, intentions, and diffusion.¹⁹ The identification of the Rule with its celebrated author, Benedict, finds its origins in the hagiographical writings of Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604), who shaped and directed the postmortem legacy of a holy man from Nursia, a region of Italy northeast of Rome in modern-day Umbria.²⁰ The Carolingian commentator on the Rule Hildemar of Civate was quite convinced that Gregory the Great had read Benedict's celebrated text.²¹ Although Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon ascetic intellectuals confidently hailed Benedict of Nursia as "our abbot" or "the Roman abbot" and his monastery at Monte Cassino, located about eighty miles south of Rome, as "the head and source" of Western monastic practice, the evidence for such bold and Rome-centered assertions is far from certain.²² What is true is that by the ninth century the Rule had become a collector's item, even

among lay elites, as Charlemagne's request to the monks of Monte Cassino that they send him a pristine copy of the Roman abbot's *regula* makes clear.²³

The ninth-century context for the Rule is easier to establish than are its sixth-century origins, because Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon writers are explicit in their views as to its genesis and purpose. While there is no scholarly consensus on the precise circumstances leading to the creation of the Rule, its relationship to other rules crafted in the sixth century, its didactic agendas, and its immediate impact on the history of asceticism in the early medieval West, a number of general points can be made. The earliest extant manuscript of the Rule dates from the eighth century, thus leaving historians and paleographers with a gap of two hundred years between the target audiences and the text's first material witnesses.²⁴ The Rule is written in a colloquial Latin and frequently uses words not in the classical Latin vocabulary or employs the classical lexicon in new ways or with variant spellings.²⁵ The Rule itself is anonymous—nowhere in the seventy-three chapters does the author give particulars regarding identity. Considering the male focus of the text, however, it is safe to assume a male writer who was himself intimate with the cenobitic life, a master. In fact, the magister manifests his presence in the Rule as a kind of a distant teacher standing over the abbot, whose own conduct is subject to surveillance.²⁶

The question remains as to what the Rule represented to its target audiences. Clearly, the Benedictine Rule is a multifaceted, mixed-genre document. Its author is conscious that his is but one voice among many in a catena of authoritative, ascetic experts stretching back to antiquity. The Rule's author envisions the text as performative: it is to be read throughout the year to the monastic community, its primary audience (RB 66.8).²⁷ The Rule is a guide to the liturgical practices of an ascetic community. Equally, the text is a penitential, as lengthy sections of the Rule are devoted to the art of imposing discipline on monastic bodies for various infractions. In addition, the Rule is a daily-life handbook for beginners and a trusted guide for experts, and herein lies its innovation within the larger context of the history of asceticism. Benedict's Rule maintains the delicate balance between housing both ascetic neophytes (by the Carolingian era these could include boys younger than seven years old) and skilled practitioners (ages fifteen and up) under one roof, the special needs of both carefully tended to by a compassionate, authoritative abbot.²⁸

That ritual balance is maintained by the Rule's bricolage of ascetic practices, employing as it does Hebrew, classical, evangelical, ascetic, and even

apocalyptic corporeal styles, ritual methods easily accommodated within the monastic community, from oblate to elderly porter. The Rule imposes the somatic techniques of biblical, classical, and ascetic characters on its practitioners: prophet (Moses), child prodigy (Samuel), tabernacle servant (Aaron), temple Levite, orator, martyr, and hermit. The vessel housing all these disparate figures is likened to Moses' *tabernaculum* in the desert, a sacred container in the midst of worldly contagion.²⁹ In fact, the Rule assimilates the various stages of the cenobitic life to the movement of Israel, its military camp, sacred tent, and community of elders and their tribes, through the stations of the wilderness as outlined in Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.³⁰ The text even imposes these literary personae and the spaces they inhabit on the mystical reading of the spatial arrangements of the monastery: tabernacle in the desert, Mount Sinai, apostolic *domus*, heavenly Jerusalem, eastern desert, Roman military camp, and Garden of Eden.

Overall, the Rule remains our best guide to the daily lives of a select group of men and women in the sixth century. It details their habits from the moment of rising during the bleak hours of the night (Vigils) to lying down (Compline) at the end of the day. It is the chief textbook for the "school [*schola*] for the Lord's service," as the Rule famously describes the foremost function of the monastery (prologue 45).³¹ The Rule is also a consummate work of ascetic orthopraxy, that is, it represents the attempts of votaries to emulate the devotional practices of a guru or founder of a religious tradition. Whereas orthodoxy is focused on textual creeds, orthopraxy is centered on the body and its habits.³² It would be a mistake, however, to read the meticulous regulations outlined in the Rule ascribed to Benedict of Nursia as providing a clear vision of its historical implementation in the early medieval West. In reality the Rule never played out in the manner lavishly detailed in its seventy-three chapters (plus prologue). What we have instead, even at the Rule's origin point, is a diversity of local practices and interpretations rather than the retrieval of the "authenticity" of a founding tradition, a standard feature of orthopraxy. The Rule gives us no one "order" of monks, no universal identity of what it meant to be a "Benedictine."³³ Unlike Hrabanus Maurus, the historical figure featured in Chapter 1 who venerated the Rule but imperfectly followed its precepts, the "Benedictine" monk of this chapter is a hypothetical practitioner who adheres to the Rule's every word.

Although much of the following discussion exists in the realm of the hypothetical, the Rule does provide evidence for actual early medieval prac-

tices, such as the positioning of an elderly porter in a room near the entryway to the monastic complex. Yet that kind of data is consistently blocked by the relationship between the language of the text and the “social structures of power” it supports. For example, the Rule asserts that rank in the community is based chiefly on the date of entry, a declaration invalidated by the class system “Benedictine” practice advocates.³⁴ Typically, we learn more about the agenda and concerns of those power structures, such as the system for “controlling insiders and excluding outsiders,” than we do about the beliefs and activities of real early medieval monks.³⁵

Soft as Lead

In the service of “controlling insiders” and “excluding outsiders,” the Rule fashions a meticulous hierarchy based on a number of objective and subjective qualities: age, date of entry, ritual purity, susceptibility to beating, proximity to the altar, linguistic capital. These traits control and direct the gender system generated by monastic practice and, in turn, they produce the monastery’s hierarchical system and its attendant spatial practices. Besides being a political tract on the virtues of the cenobitic life, the opening chapter of the Rule is an expression of the gendered creed of the monastic mission, a creed formulated through the taxonomy of ascetic methods based on classic works in ascetic theory. First and foremost, are the species (*genus*) of the cenobite, the monasterial order who perform military service (*militans*) under a rule and its governing abbot. The use of *militans* is strategic because the word choice enables cenobites to partake of the martial and athletic ethos of eremitic culture. Similarly practitioners of the Rule virtually participate in the historic cult of Christian martyrs, which is characterized by the militant qualities of *duritia* (“hardness,” “austerity”) and *constantia* (“endurance,” “steadfastness”).³⁶ The prologue of the Rule likens cenobites to an arms-bearing militia, enduring the battle of holy obedience for Christ the King.³⁷

Following the bellicose monasterials, there is the species “anchorite,” defined in the Rule as “withdrawers” from corporate asceticism, a refinement of the root meaning of “anchorite” as one who retires from the civilized world or its classical philosophical definition as one who retreats into the self. In contrast to its terse rendering of the genus cenobite, the Rule adds a lengthy description of the anchorites, underscoring the precarious relationship between the two ascetic styles as well as the defensive posture of the

backers of corporate asceticism. Anchorites undergo military training in a monastery, clearly envisioned as a sort of boot camp for future soldiers of God. After receiving instruction from communal ascetics until they become “self-reliant,” anchorites enter into the desert’s single-handed combat.³⁸ With God’s aid, they are sufficiently prepared to fight—by hand alone or forearm—against the vices of the flesh and of thoughts.³⁹

A piece of cenobitic propaganda, the first chapter of the Rule fashions an intimate bond between the two competing orders in which the less glamorous group, the cenobites, serve as the mentors of the more gallant team, the anchorites. In doing so, the Rule makes the case for the cenobitic origins of Christian asceticism against competing traditions of the desert as progenitor of the movement. This tactic parallels fifth-century desert chronicler John Cassian’s assertion that cenobites find their historical origins in the ancient apostolic community at Jerusalem; therefore, they are the archetypal first order.⁴⁰ Furthermore, chapter 1 of the Rule’s discourse on the eremitic way of life is a critique, especially within the wider context of the Rule, which consistently stresses that the corporate body of the monastery bridles the dangerous assertion of the individual will and its accompanying cravings. Hermits are individuals in the desert, and, as such, they fight against assaults of desire with hand and arm alone.

The figure of the hermit, redrawn by the politics of the Benedictine monastery, is a sort of amputee from the corporate body of the monastery, a severed arm. Cenobites, whom the Rule also likens to bodily members, remain intact and under a vigilant head (*caput*), the abbot, who monitors the community for signs of encroaching individualism. In contrast, the hermit is a mirror image of chapter 28’s recalcitrant excommunicated monk, against whom the “abbot must use the knife and amputate.”⁴¹ Thus, both excommunicated monk and hermit are, symbolically speaking, severed limbs. The hermit remains the strong arm of the *coenobium*, the first soldier in the wilderness waging war against the devil in the service of protecting the rest of the body, the monastic fortress. In fact this latter reading is in keeping with classical and late Roman military strategy, in which the balance between courageous “single combat and the associated moral quality, *virtus*,” had to be maintained within the corporate tactics of the Roman phalanx and its attendant virtue of *disciplina*.⁴² Either reading leads to the conclusion that the Rule’s author shrewdly domesticates the feral figure of the anchorite and repositions him within the larger political agenda of cenobitic asceticism and its spiritual phalanx.

The Rule's discourse on anchorites ends with the image of a desert hermit separated from the monastery and threatened by "vices of the flesh and of thoughts," allurements readily associated with the feminine, such as self-indulgence, desire, sluggishness, and carnality. The author moves on from this somewhat ambiguous and calculated representation of anchoritic practice to examine two other species of monks who are enslaved to corporeal appetites and independent wills: the sarabaites and the gyrovagues. In this section, the compiler of the Rule calls on classical gender metaphors, coupled with biblical discourses, to pen one of the text's most memorable and coercive sections. In derivation, the word "sarabaite" is a neutral Coptic term for a monastic collective or company. Far from being neutral, however, the Rule's sarabaite embodies classical Roman stereotypes of the East as soft, decadent, defiled, and depraved.⁴³ The Rule uses *taeter* ("repulsive, noisome, loathsome"), a word applied in classical Latin to rotting corpses, overabundant libidos, or even hideous countenances, to depict the species sarabaite.⁴⁴ In spite of their ghastly features, these men possess a "nature as soft as lead" (*in plumbi natura molliti*), another classicizing designation as the verb *mollio*, *mollire* ("to make soft, effeminate, womanish") is a code word in classical Latin for an effeminate male.⁴⁵ While the Rule designates the sarabaite as "soft," it insinuates that monks who submit to a rule are hard like gold tested in a furnace (RB, 1.6; referencing Proverbs 27.21). Corporate monks are durable gold; sarabaites are formless, melting lead. Classical medical writers believe that the feminine "pours, drips, heats, softens, melts," whereas its masculine opposite, built as it is on "dry stability," resists such labile boundary shifting.⁴⁶ Like Roman actors whom elite *viri* denounced for effeminacy, license, servile status, depravity, and for the fact that they "earned money for pretending to be what they were not," the soft sarabaite lies to the world by wearing a tonsure—a sign of the renunciation of earthly things—while still clinging to secular delights.⁴⁷ Sarabaites are dissemblers, who take the Word of God into their mouths, but do so in the manner of a mendacious stage actor, whose language is elevated but whose manner of living is dishonored.

The life of these unmanned ascetics precludes a rule and a magister, as the loathsome sarabaites live under a law in which the "will of desires" governs them.⁴⁸ Their habitat is likened to an animal pen (*ovile*, "sheepfold"), but unlike Christ's *ovile* (John 10.1, 16), a biblical metaphor for the church, the sarabaite version lacks a divine shepherd. Penned in like animals and living in groups of two or three men (and even sometimes alone, like hermits), the sarabaites venerate desire as holy and everything else as debased. In

the Rule's discussion of the sarabaites, we witness an ingenious coupling of natures: soft and womanish with uncultivated and bestial. Such a characterization of the sarabaites probably was a boon to the self-esteem of the virile and disciplined cenobite, who would hear of the degenerate exploits of these lesser holy men during the public *lectio*. Equally, the sarabaites are an "oriental" within a long-standing tradition of Roman "orientalism," that is, the perceived ability of "eastern softness" to "infect previously manly Romans."⁴⁹ On the shifting scale between the feminine and the masculine, the sarabaites linger perilously on the feminine side of the measure.

So does his gyrovague rival. *Gyrovagus* is not a classical Latin term. In fact, it is an undocumented word until the sixth century when it first appears in one of Benedict's major sources, the so-called Rule of the Master, where the Master spends no less than sixty-two verses excoriating dissolute gyrovagues.⁵⁰ The term gyrovague, like its ascetic practice, is a hybrid stemming from the Master's pairing of the Greek noun *gûros* ("circle") and the Latin verb *vagor* ("to roam about, wander, stroll").⁵¹ This aberrant and unclean form of asceticism (as hybrids are defiled creatures) hinges on its practitioners' uncanny talent for "roaming in a circle." Gyrovagues are like the nomads despised by classical writers and situated "at the very bottom of the scale of civilized life."⁵² The meaning of the term *gyrovagus* is teleological: rather than climbing the salvific ladder stretching to the heavens—a symbol of masculine linear ascent—gyrovagues wander the earth aimlessly in circles and their ascetic practice is directionless. In contrast, the Rule likens the body and soul of a perfected cenobite to the sides of a ladder erected toward the heavens (RB 7.9).⁵³

The author of the Rule also applies the terms *vagi* ("unfixed, unsettled, vacillating, inconstant") and *numquam stabiles* ("never steadfast, firm, fixed") to the sarabaites, delineations marked by the feminine lexicon of classical Latin. Sarabaites are perpetual guests of other ascetics, parasites on the paltry offerings of hospitable cells, and they threaten the economic well-being of virtuous holy men. In this worst condemnation of alternative ascetic practice, the Rule reviles gyrovagues as "servants to their own wills and to the seductions of their gullets."⁵⁴ The unhappy mingling of a degraded mind, personified by an uncontrolled will, with a dictatorial body, symbolized by an uninhibited gullet—itsself a classical metonymy for the errant penis—echoes the tacit warning to the neophyte hermit about the hazards of corporeal and mental temptations.⁵⁵ Such enticements intensify in the solitary, rough country of the desert. In case the reader is left with any doubt, the section

ends by simply stating that the gyrovagues are worse than the sarabaite “in every way” (RB 1.11).⁵⁶ Chapter 1 of the Rule closes by exhorting its target audience of monks to remain silent about these most wretched lifestyles, as if speaking about them is a contagion, an infection capable of polluting a stable cenobite. Or perhaps the author of the Rule worried that such infectious speech may very well be a perilous inducement to deviant practice.

Chapter 1 sets up the controlling gender paradigm for the ensuing passages of the Rule. Male ascetics, who indulge their own desires by rejecting the purgative space of the *claustrum* and the rigors of a monastic rule, are unmanned (*molliti*). Their cenobitic counterparts are the “strong breed” (*fortissimum genus*), who train in the art of spiritual warfare. The cenobites’ power stems from their corporate ethos and the mooring of their bodies and their minds (*stabilitas loci*) to a military compound, the monastery. Notably, the heroic figure of the anchorite is consistently shadowed by his two debauched competitors, the sarabaite and the gyrovague, as all three share the following ascetic habits: roving, solitude, the assertion of individual styles of asceticism over corporate ones, and untamed appearances. Hence, the Rule sets up an ascetic arena fraught with gender trouble. Strong monks continually fight against “vices of body and mind,” allurements closely associated with the feminine: self-indulgence, desire, sluggishness, and loquaciousness. In contrast, soft monks embrace these qualities.

Even hermits run the risk of doing so, as the Rule ends its short discourse on them by insinuating that their bodies, perilously situated in the vast spaces of the desert, are more open to attacks of vice. In this gender system the best monks ensure that their own bodies display the masculine and classicizing virtues of gravity, dignity, self-control, and austerity, mirror-opposite qualities of those favored by the sarabaite and the gyrovague. It is the case then that both the gyrovague and the sarabaite serve the symbolic purpose of filling in the feminine (self-indulgent, servile to vice, inconstant) in the absence of the female in this leading chapter of the Rule. The ascetic society idealized in the Rule creates zones for the feminine as well as a surveillance system for the maintenance of monastic masculinity through hierarchical, ritual, disciplinary, spatial, and linguistic means, as the subsequent section demonstrates.

Gendering the Benedictine Rule

The Benedictine ordering of ascetic bodies stems in part from classical Roman notions of sex and gender. The Benedictine hierarchy shadows the

social pyramid created by the ancient Romans. For elite Roman writers the possession of a public voice, that is, the legal right to speak in select spaces (temples, law courts, the Curia, the forum) is a marker both of the masculinity of the speaker and his political authority. Those who lack this public voice—women, children, actors, slaves—are *infames*, “without reputation,” or, closer still to the original etymology of the word, “without a voice.”⁵⁷

On the one hand, the ability to use the voice in ritually sanctioned places—and the power to silence others—is the hallmark of classical masculinity. On the other hand, scurrilous political and literary invectives focus on the *os impurum*, “the unclean mouth that supposedly results from oral intercourse.”⁵⁸ Silencing a political opponent is a metaphorical oral rape, a powerful symbol of domination in the phallus-centered Roman political hierarchy. Any elite man who allowed his mouth to be penetrated “violated his sexual integrity, his impenetrability (*pudicitia*).”⁵⁹ Performing fellatio on another male plugged up the mouth of an elite *vir*, thereby cutting him off from the medium of his free status: the use of the mouth in public discourse. Fellatio also was a lower-class sex act, something a senator might ask a prostitute to perform on him, but never his upper-class wife. Romans were obsessed by the purity of the mouth: “It was the organ of speech and, above all, of public oratory.”⁶⁰ *Viri*, the men on top, successfully protect their own bodies from verbal, physical, or sexual assault, and they freely beat and/or sexually penetrate low-ranking others.⁶¹ Elite boys undermine this classical gender system, because they are both objects of male lust and, in theory, off-limits for sex because of their highborn status. In this Roman system, therefore, gender is based simultaneously on anatomy (possessing a penetrative organ) and social, economic, and political status (factors determining the degrees of penetrability).

Similarly, the Rule’s pyramid of power is driven by sex and gender, creating a ritual system where some males are more masculine than others in the absence of female participants in the system. In the Rule liturgical, ritual, spatial, and social status—categories defined by gendered attributes—work to generate hierarchy. All of the Roman gender ingredients materialize in the Rule: corporeal inviolability, the pure mouth as instrument of power, and the presence of boys under fifteen as both destabilizing and solidifying. Masculinity hinges on the degree to which a monk exercises bodily inviolability, because one of the key elements of Benedictine gender is the ability to defend the body’s margins from blows. Physical assaults can take a number of forms: striking hand, castigatory speech, penitential silence, fasting (the Rule often

equates fasting with beating, as both are blows against the body), spatial isolation, or even the invasion of the body's senses by worldly phenomena, including seductive language, taking delight in gastric ventures, or visual pleasures outside the monastery.⁶²

The "men on top" of the Benedictine gender pyramid consistently defend their body's perimeters from linguistic, sexual, or penitential blows. Those who lack the power to avoid assaults hold the lowest position in the monastery: boys, novices, the excommunicated, incompetent chanters, the sick, and outsiders. The "top men" possess more freedom to use their mouths in ceremonial venues and spaces, especially in the oratory and the refectory. Those at the bottom of the pyramid lack "public mouths," and frequently are silenced in hallowed spaces. God, of course, is the most powerful orator in the community, and those monks closest to him are the ones who take "a more active part in speaking, in giving commandments, and in bestowing blessings."⁶³ The focus on the forensic prowess of God stems from the Torah, which likens the asomatous deity of the ancient Israelites to a celestial "mouth" (Hebrew, *pē*) and "voice" (Hebrew, *qol*).⁶⁴

The Benedictine mouth is the major architect of gendered, hierarchical zones in the community. God's divine speech and mouth are embedded in the daily practices of the monastery, as monks take the Word into their bodies and reverberate it back within the hierarchical setting of the oratory, where the community is seated on benches (*in scamnis*, RB 9.5; *in subselliis*, RB 11.2) according to rank (RB 11.2). Monks partake of the divine mouth, and, as a proof text of this dramatic coupling, the Rule glosses their daily liturgical practices with biblical passages on maintaining the purity of mouths, tongues, and lips.⁶⁵ Thus high status in the community depends on the maintenance of an undefiled liturgical mouth and its ability to expel "pure prayer" (*pura oratio*, RB 20.4). Furthermore, the Rule envisions the liturgy as a numinous arena set apart for the union of the heavenly and earthly realms. As such, the Rule cautions monks that they should monitor their behavior above all during chanting, for the Psalter lifts them up into the direct presence of "God and his angels," thereby uniting them with an impressive company. Far from being a benign presence, however, the heavenly hierarchy functions as a panopticon, an all-encompassing surveillance mechanism, designed to make docile the bodies of the monks under its gaze (RB 19.6).⁶⁶

Directly under the Eternal mouth is the disembodied authority of the Rule itself, which serves as mediator between the angelic liturgical kingdom and the abbot's exercise of power over his monk chanters. The abbot, envi-

sioned as holding Christ's place in the monastery (RB 2.2, 63.13), is also an incarnation of the Rule, and harmony in the community is maintained when the abbot's body is in line with the text's holy precepts. As foremost magister and learned in divine law (RB 64.9), the abbot is to "scatter" (*conspargo*, RB 2.5) his teachings so that they penetrate the minds of his disciples. The abbot is the community's chief orator, and, as such, he is granted the most freedom in terms of speaking and blessing. Simultaneously he has the most power to silence others and to reintegrate fallen monks to the community through the medium of speech. In fact, one word uttered by the abbot, *sufficit* ("enough," RB 44.10) ends a ban of excommunication. Overall, the abbot—and his attendant powers of pure speech—is a mirror of the angelic panopticon, as the Rule assigns him considerable powers of surveillance over the minds and bodies of his subordinates just as the body and inner being of an individual monk is under the ever-present gaze of God and his angels (RB 7.13, 19.1). The abbot is responsible for the salvation of all souls under his care (RB 2.38).

The abbot's titles in the Rule speak to his unique hierarchical status: *pater* (Latin, "father") or *abbas* (Aramaic, "father"), *maior* ("superior"), *prior* ("the first one"), *dominus* ("lord"). The Rule (2.3) notes that the apostle Paul applies the term *abba* (Aramaic, "father") to the Godhead (Romans 8.15), and thus to Christ. As Christ's representative in the monastery (RB 2.2, 63.13) and the embodiment of the Rule itself, the abbot extends his authority in a number of ritual and social settings. He has complete charge over community rank and can, with discretion, change a monk's position in the hierarchy (RB 2.19, 61.12, 63.1). He chooses who will serve as the monastery's liturgical leaders: the priests and deacons (RB 62.1). Thus the abbot's influence over hierarchy extends beyond the Rule's stipulated major criteria for rank—date of entry (a seemingly objective measure) and merit of life (a more slippery attribute). As the Rule states: "the abbot is free, if he sees fit, to change anyone's rank as justice demands."⁶⁷ On account of this ability to change rank, the abbot can overturn the Rule's egalitarian policy of attempting to erase class and age divisions: servile/free, boy monk/adult novice, priest/non priest (RB 2.18, 60.5, 63.5).

Furthermore, the Rule compares the abbot to a skilled surgeon wielding a knife: he cuts out willful and recalcitrant monks who are likened to infected or diseased limbs and who threaten the welfare of the body politic. His ability to do so stems from the notion of the Benedictine community as a corporate body, complete with head (abbot) and other parts: feet (the penitent), tongue (the lector), arms (hermits trained in the monastery), guts (the cellarer),

mouth/anus (the porter). The Benedictine body has no meaning apart from its membership in the body of Christ; therefore, its “ontological status” is more “like that of a slave in Roman law.”⁶⁸ Evocative of this corporate ethos is the Rule’s assertion that from the day a monk enters the monastery he no longer has “his own body at his disposal,” a phrase repeated twice in the Rule (RB 33.4, 58.25), referencing Paul’s famous explanation of how the married Christian lacks authority over her/his own body (1 Corinthians 7.4).⁶⁹ Monks are men married to the altar, and, as such, they relinquish control over their own flesh to a vigilant celestial hierarchy, materialized on earth by the abbot’s panoptic rule.

In addition to scrutinizing the bodies of his votaries, the abbot’s panoptic gaze monitors the meager possessions of his monks, as hoarding material culture items is a visible testimony of an ascetic’s incompatibility with the corporate ethos of the Rule. All material items (books, stylus, writing tablet, clothing, needle, tools) come directly from the abbot’s custody so that he may completely uproot “the vice of private ownership,” which threatens the health of the body politic (RB 55.18).⁷⁰ Squirreling away material goods signals a monk’s desire for *luxuria*, or “excess,” a feminizing quality. In order to hold back onslaughts of *luxuria* within the body politic, the abbot maintains a list of all the monastery’s commodities, and monks must come to him and “check out” what they need (RB 32.3). The abbot has free reign to inspect bedding (RB 55.16), to seize gifts sent to monks from the outside world, and to give such “trifles” (*munuscula*) to another monk without regard for the intended recipient (RB 54.3). In contrast to a subordinate monk, who may not presume “to give, receive, or retain anything as his own, nothing at all” (RB 33.2–3),⁷¹ the abbot has his own space set apart from the rest of the complex for entertaining: a guest kitchen (RB 53.16) with an attendant staff (RB 53.17).

Access to separate space in the monastery is a key marker of status. Indeed, only a select group of officers of the community, the abbot, the porter, have the right to use private or semiprivate spaces outside of the collective sectors of the congregation, such as the oratory, workrooms, kitchen, refectory, library, and dormitory. The porter’s status is remarkable in that he is given his own *cella*. The porter’s cell is located over the entryway to the complex. From this vantage point, he may monitor the comings and goings of those who pass under his eye. Even more striking is the fact that the Rule allows him to share this isolated space with a junior monk, who serves as a helper (RB 66.5) It is no coincidence that the Rule stresses the virtuous quali-

ties of the porter, as it does those of the merciful and moderate abbot. The porter is to be a “wise old man” (*senex sapiens*, RB 66.1)⁷² and custodian of the monastery’s most vulnerable point—its entryway, which is an architectural version of a bodily orifice (mouth/anus). The advanced age of the porter guarantees that he will not take advantage of this spatial isolation by “roaming about” like an unstable gyrovague (RB 66.1). The elderly porter is an embodiment of *stabilitas loci*. As such, his position in the body politic of the community must be beyond reproach.

Guests of the monastery, including the poor, pilgrims, and the wealthy, receive independent housing but their entrée to private space stems not from status within the community, but from a policy of sequestering their contagious presence from that of perfected monks (RB 53.23–24). Even visiting priests and monks are put through the paces in this ritual system, for although they are technically insiders in that they are holy men, they are also outsiders because their acculturation into the life of self-abnegation takes place in an alien house (RB 60–61). Visiting holy men may join the community, but they must bind themselves to its stability, implying perhaps that outsiders are somehow prone to the vice of wandering. Monks within the community are bid not to speak with visitors, as both speech and the mouth mediate contagion. Two other groups in the community have segregated spaces: the sick who are given an isolated *cella* with an attendant (*servitor*, RB 36.7), and the novices, who dwell in the *cella noviciorum* (RB 58.5). The novices and the sick are in states of spiritual liminality, betwixt and between lay and consecrated status; therefore, they are more like guests and less like corporate monks as they run the risk of “infecting” the monastery both literally and figuratively.

While access to private space is an important attribute of rank, the abbot’s most impressive powers operate in the Deuteronomy-like theater of “cursings” (penance, blows, isolation) and “blessings” (prayer, liturgy, the salvific process). After crossing the Jordan, Moses, in one of the most memorable performative liturgies of the Torah (Deuteronomy 27–28), divides up the Israelite tribes into two groups and positions them on conspicuous mountaintops: six tribes on Mount Gerizim, who will recite the blessings that will come upon Israel if it keeps God’s commandments, and six tribes on Mount Ebal, who will chant curses if the *mitzvot* are broken. The Rule creates a ritual situation in which the abbot takes on the role of prophet and his disciples become the body politic of the “sons of Israel.” The abbot’s disciples risk being divided into two biblical camps: those who murmur against his

rule just as the Israelites in the wilderness murmured against Moses and those who remain steadfast and loyal.⁷³ In the monastery—as in the wilderness—curses come upon those who murmur; blessings find those whose lips are sealed against such imprudent grumblings. The penultimate chapter of the Rule clarifies: monks with “the wicked zeal of bitterness”⁷⁴ are separated from God and take the path toward hell; monks with “good zeal” withdraw from evil and chose the road toward God and salvation (RB 72.1–2).

In the theater of blessing, the abbot is the origin point of all sacred speech in the community (RB 47.2). Reminiscent of God, he has the power to “part the lips” of his votaries and to seal them. He has the ultimate authority for announcing the hours of prayer, authorizing prayer leaders, and hierarchically ordering the bodies of chanters in the oratory (RB 11.2, 63.4) according to the talent of their voices: “No one should presume to read or sing unless he is able to benefit the hearers” (RB 47.3).⁷⁵ In the realm of cursing, expressed in the Benedictine ritual system as beating and excommunicating, the abbot too has absolute charge. He may delegate this authority to another monk, but none may presume to “excommunicate or strike any of his brothers unless he has been given this power by the abbot” (RB 70.2).⁷⁶ With regard to punishing violators of the Rule, the abbot has two options (RB 2.27–8). He may correct wayward practice by speech or by blows.

Speech is the weapon used against high-status monks, described here as *honestiores*: “morally upright,” “honorable,” and, in Roman law, men of noble birth. Such men are also termed *intelligibiles* (“intelligent,” “perceptive”), for when an honorable and intelligent monk makes an error, he is granted two verbal warnings before the abbot imposes any sort of corporeal castigation on him. Against a lower-status monk, however, one deemed *improbis* (“perverse,” “rebellious,” “self-willed”), *durus* (“obstinate,” “uncultivated,” “harsh”), and *inoboediens* (“disobedient”), the abbot may immediately inflict physical pain with a scourge or he may employ some other sort of corporeal castigation. This key passage of the Rule suggests that striking a monk provokes anxiety in the community as the victim of physical assault clearly loses status, because he falls from the rank of the *honestiores* to occupy the lower position of *improbis*. For example, the high-status monk who ignores the first two verbal warnings, which are directed at the “inner man,” and is subsequently beaten on his body, the realm of the “outer man,” would undoubtedly move down the gender pyramid to the more penetrable, lower register. A prior, who occupies the uppermost level of the pyramid just below the abbot’s slot, may receive up to four verbal warnings before his body is subjected to the discipline of the Rule

(RB 65.18–9). When punishment is inscribed on the flesh of a monk by blows, such a beating signals publicly and visibly (by means of the marks of the lash on his back) his “imbecility.”

Although the Rule preserves a memory of the classical gender system, where susceptibility to beating indicates low or servile status, it does not appear to uphold alternative, positive readings of physical blows: the scars on the backs of Roman soldiers as indicators of their honorable and manly stature. Paul’s proud declaration, “I carry the marks [*stigmata*] of Jesus branded on my body” (Galatians 6.17), represents for Christian audiences the apostle’s heroic effort to experience and display Christ’s suffering through the medium of the servile body.⁷⁷ Although monks partake of Jesus’ sufferings—indeed, this is their *raison d’être* (RB prologue 50)—nowhere in the Rule is there an equation of beating with the practice of embodying the passion of Christ or the tortures of the martyrs. Perhaps this is because the Benedictines located Christ’s passion within the realm of the habitual, the routine, the daily, for “the life of a monk ought to be a continuous Lent” (RB 49.1).⁷⁸ Therefore nothing spectacular was required. In fact, the spectacular is consistently downplayed in the Rule in favor of corporate routine.

Equating beating with Christ’s passion places the one wielding the scourge (say, the abbot) in the tenuous position of the Roman tormentors of Jesus memorably depicted in the gospels, narratives a monk would regularly hear during the *lectio divina*. Overall, the Roman model of citizen as inviolable works well within the corporate ethos of the community, as beating creates a ritual process for producing hierarchy as it did in ancient Rome between *honestiores* and *humiliores* or in the monastery between voice men and body men. As a proof text of the demotion of a monk through beating the Rule glosses the passage on corporeal penalty with the scriptural warning: “a fool cannot be corrected with words” (Proverbs 29.19).⁷⁹ The anxiety about beating suggests that the Benedictine hierarchy preserves to a surprising degree a memory of the classical gender pyramid.

In terms of the Benedictine gender pyramid, being able to beat others (the abbot’s ultimate charge) and simultaneously protect one’s own body from physical blows is a key marker of status. No one in the community possesses more corporeal inviolability (*pudicitia*) than does the abbot.⁸⁰ In fact, the abbot is subject only to the verbal disciplinary system of the Rule itself, though chapter 64.4–6 does demur to bishops and neighboring abbots, who may be called in to arbitrate disputed elections of abbots. For other monks, however, beatings are carried out with a ritual rod, a *virga* (RB 28.3),

a classical Latin term for the vine staff used by the Roman army to strike soldiers, as soldiers were the only citizens who legally could be beaten, but only by their superiors and only with the ritualized *virga*.⁸¹ The *virga* is also an instrument for the punishment of slaves. Moreover, the *virga* is a classical and early medieval metonymy for the penis, a “rod” capable of inflicting blows from sexual penetration.⁸² In the Benedictine penitential system, the abbot doles out thrashings with a *virga* to children who make mistakes in the oratory, the ultimate space for producing monastic masculinity (RB 45.3), and vague lapses, such as persisting in unspecified acts of disobedience, stubbornness, pride (RB 28.1). Ritual blunders necessitating “severe punishment,” which would certainly consist of scourging for monks in the “imbecile” category, include violating periods of silence at night (RB 42.9), breaking or losing the monastery’s valuables without admitting it before the abbot (RB 46.2–3), hoarding (RB 55.17), grumbling (RB 34.7), leaving the enclosure without the abbot’s permission, reporting back to other monks what one has heard and seen in the outside world (RB 67.5–7), and refusing to render satisfaction after a disagreement (RB 71.9).

Although the Rule is often imprecise about when and under what circumstances an abbot should take up the *virga*, it is unswerving in its evaluation of who is at the very bottom of the disciplinary chain: boys under fifteen.⁸³ Throughout the Rule boys and adolescent monks (*infantes, pueri, adulescentes*), ranging in age from younger than seven to about fifteen (the age of sexual maturity), are the group undergoing constant surveillance. They are frequently beaten: “[boys] are to be subjected to severe fasts or checked with sharp strokes so that they may be healed” (RB 30.3).⁸⁴ Note this passage’s equation of the pain sparked by fasting with that inflicted by beating. For those not yet possessing the full measure of their wits (young or *improbi* monks), God’s judgment and the precepts of the Rule must be experienced on the body—the back or the stomach—as the mind is insufficiently developed to receive his rebuke.⁸⁵

Boys are especially monitored in the two perilous spaces of the monastery devoted to the mouth: the oratory and the refectory.⁸⁶ Whereas adult chanters in the oratory are allowed a variety of ways to render satisfaction for making mistakes when taking God’s Word into the mouth, very young boys are immediately whipped for any infraction, a testimony to the fact that they are way down on the gender pyramid, immersed as they are in the body (RB 45.3). In the eating space, boys and adolescents are “to be supervised and controlled until they are old enough to be responsible” (RB 63.19).⁸⁷ In gen-

eral, monks under fifteen, who are males in the process of becoming men within the punitive strictures of the Benedictine system, are the targets of a monastery-wide program of chastisement: “Boys are to be disciplined in everything by everyone” (RB 63.9).⁸⁸

Experts of pre-modern medicine validate the problematic gender of Benedictine boys. According to ancient and medieval medical teachings, masculine bodies are hotter and drier, and thus they are more stable and less subject to leakage. Feminine bodies are colder and moister, and this wetness underscores female instability and mutability.⁸⁹ Young boys are closer to the feminine register, and the Rule consistently treats them as loquacious, self-indulgent, penetrable, and lacking in discipline—all feminized attributes. Furthermore, boyish mouths—because they belong to damp, boyish bodies—produce sounds that are “reedy” and “thin”; their chants lack the power to penetrate the intellects of their hearers. In contrast, adult men have fat, penetrating voices.⁹⁰

The medical lore of antiquity is in line with the ritual ordering of the Rule, where manhood is equated with the exercise of a virile voice within the sacred space of the adult choir. For boy chanters, however, classical medical experts and their early medieval redactors characterize the first stage of life, *infans*, as being defined by an inability to speak, for an infant’s teeth are not yet in proper order, and, as such, they block the clarity of language.⁹¹ Monks need teeth with which to “masticate” the divine word.⁹² Within the monastery, failure to verbalize with clarity and to ruminate on the Word indicates low status as does having the body serve as the public stage for censure. Therefore the physiology of the very young prevents them from becoming full participants in the ritual system as they lack the “teeth” to do so.

Virile monks, however, possess the “teeth” with which to masticate the Word and chew on its mysteries. Dangerously, these same men potentially may use their teeth to engage in “symbolic cannibalism,” that is, the mastication of their brothers through slanderous speech.⁹³ Because of the potency of teeth and mouth and their ability to engage simultaneously in sacred, profane, and obscene activities, the Rule is quick to keep in check everything that goes in and out of the mouths of its votaries: intoning the psalms, slander, laughing, eating, drinking, or any sort of speaking at all. The mouth also figuratively represents the exits and entryways into a bounded community. Therefore, the mouth’s movements, especially its openings and closings, must be safeguarded.⁹⁴ The mouth is a treacherous orifice: it is the instrument of monastic power (the intoning of the Word), but its ingestion of food ruptures

the perilous boundary between the interior and exterior worlds. What is more, the mouth is symbolically close to other orifices, especially those that break the divide between the body and the world: the anus, the genitals, and the nose.⁹⁵

As one of the most important features of the human face, the mouth takes part in the “grotesque image of the body,”⁹⁶ a body characterized as “open, full of holes that can leak or be penetrated.”⁹⁷ Its leaky orifices are the subject of classical satire, humor, and pornographic discourse. And it is in these literary and visual spheres where the mouth becomes interchangeable with the genitals: the spewing penis and the swallowing vagina. Echoes of these satirical images can be found in the Rule. The mouth is the most visible—and cavernous—orifice on the public body, and, like a vagina, it is feared to be capable of gulping down a penis. Early medieval penitentials testify to the vaginal quality of the mouth, describing it as a sexual orifice, a passive recipient of semen (*semen in os miserit*).⁹⁸ A gaping mouth is often a trope for the “open gate leading downward into the bodily underworld.”⁹⁹ The Rule concurs by warning that monks with gaping mouths engaged in idle speech create a fissure in the community through which the Evil One may enter (RB 43.8). The mouth’s commanding position on the face coupled with the fact that it is the single largest orifice on the body leaves it in a powerful—yet anxiety-ridden—position.

With these sorts of ritual apprehensions and anatomical confusions inscribed on the mouth, it is fairly easy to understand the Rule’s fixation on this grotesque and hallowed orifice. Eating, centered as it is on the pleasures of the mouth, is a heavily regulated practice in the monastery. Monks are only to take meals prepared in the monastery’s kitchen, as consuming food prepared outside the sacred precincts is forbidden unless the abbot makes an exception (RB 51.1–2). The appointed times for dining are vigilantly prescribed. Perfected monks close their mouths to alien food, yet another avenue of external contagion. In the same vein, they shut down all bodily apertures in the face of worldly penetration: eyes, anus, and ears (the *ear* is a major focus of the Rule, a passive orifice for the reception of the Word). The system is so ritualized that even eating outside of canonical hours results in a tainted mouth.

The Rule (chapter 39) gives us a sketch of the standard fare prepared in the monks’ kitchen: two dishes of cooked foods plus fresh fruit and vegetables if available. These two dishes appear not to include red meat, and this ban is intriguing, especially within the context of the “grotesque” body and its gap-

ing orifices. Concerning meat, the Rule states: "Let everyone, except the sick who are very weak, abstain entirely from eating the meat of four-footed animals."¹⁰⁰ This passage stipulates that the diet of healthy monks must be free from the taint of the flesh of four-footed animals; in contrast, the sick, who are deemed imperfect participants in the liturgical system, may eat red meat, but as soon as their health returns, they are to abstain from flesh (RB 36.9, 39.11). The anxiety about meat eating undoubtedly stems from the Benedictines' belief that they are heirs to the dietary practices of legendary desert hermits, who famously rejected the ingestion of all flesh. The Benedictine mouth serves as a major conduit of this ascetic legacy. The desert and its militant ethos are embodied through the Benedictine mouth and its openings to approved foods and closings to illicit foods.

Desert hermits viewed meat eating and slander as forms of "participatory violence," whereby the ingestion of meat implicates the carnivore in the act of butchering animals and expelling slanderous words from the mouth is akin to metaphorically masticating the reputation of fellow ascetics.¹⁰¹ Even more to the point for the abstemious ascetic, meat stirs up desire, as flesh incites the flesh, making the soul "heavy and dull." Meat heats up the blood, a metabolic reaction suitable for the weak or the very young, whose blood is tepid, but dangerous in adult males because an excess of heat sparks sexual hunger.¹⁰² As Benedictine masculinity is linked to the purity of the mouth, it is consistent with the Rule that weaning the male body off of meat is a critical marker of manhood. The avoidance of any sort of "oral violence" (flesh eating or slander) is a move calculated to disconnect the body of a perfected monk from his carnivorous lay counterpart, who would always be feminized in this ritual system. After all, the only flesh a monk should covet is "the flesh of the vellum page from which he reads" scripture.¹⁰³

The Benedictine mouth is also the organ featured in the Rule's ritual system for excommunicating monks. The mouth of an excommunicated monk is plugged up because it is an unclean receptacle, an *os impurum*. The excommunicated is forbidden to intone the Word in the oratory, the most status-oriented activity in the monastery, the speaking of the Logos.¹⁰⁴ Silencing a liturgical mouth within the ritual structures of the Rule is a symbolic form of oral rape, where one high status male plugs up the mouth of a lower-class one.¹⁰⁵ And, as in ancient Rome, this sort of "plugging up" denotes a loss of rank within the Benedictine gender pyramid. The sexual subtext of this passage surfaces when its author glosses the ritual for cutting off an offender from the community with the apostle Paul's verdict on the man

who sleeps with his stepmother (1 Corinthians 5.5): “You are to hand this man over to Satan for the destruction of his flesh, so that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord.” Like the excommunicated monk, the incestuous Corinthian man breaches community margins by opening up his body—a trope for the body politic of the church—to corrupting forces, which then invade through corporeal apertures. The Corinthian man is a consummate boundary breaker. Such a deviant body must be “plugged up” to safeguard the intactness of the assembly.¹⁰⁶

The unclean mouth of the excommunicated is subject to further strictures. He is not to eat food that has been blessed because he has an *os impurum* nor is his body to be blessed by any of his brothers (RB 25.6). He is excluded from the common table and thus the salutary *lectio* and forced to eat alone and at different times (RB 24.3, 5). Spatial practice becomes a medium for disciplinary and theological action in the community: the distance between the unclean and the clean marks the “moral distance between the good monk and the bad.”¹⁰⁷ Conversely, the Rule empowers the excommunicated body to a certain degree because the excommunicated body becomes contagious, like the bodies of guests or novice monks, who are segregated spatially from the corporate body of the monastery. Other monks are not to “converse” with the excommunicated at all because unclean monks may propel those in states of ritual purity to share in their defiled status (RB 26.1–2). The Rule bears witness to the infectious nature of the excommunicated by underscoring that monks who refuse to be “healed” by the multi-tiered system of punishment (verbal rebuke, physical blows, excommunication, prayer) are to be amputated by the surgeon-abbot’s knife, “lest one diseased sheep infect the whole flock” (RB 28.8).¹⁰⁸

Space plays a key role in the process of “healing” diseased monks in ways other than merely isolating their bodies and denying them food served up in the common refectory or the Word dished out in the oratory. The corporate body of the Benedictine community inscribes itself on the individual body of the excommunicated in highly calculated rituals of humiliation, whereby the penitent becomes a symbolic foot, the limb on the corporate body with the least status, and the abbot visibly performs his role as “head,” the bodily member ancient and medieval writers liken to a celestial sphere. Chapter 44 of the Rule outlines the practices through which the excommunicated monk may be reintegrated to the body politic. The excommunicated brother is to prostrate himself in silence at the entryway to the oratory, a staged ritual performance signaling his liminal status as neither fully “inside” (a pure litur-

gical mouth) nor fully “outside” (a layman with a defiled mouth). The monk is to station himself at the oratory’s doors until the conclusion of the *opus Dei*, so that he may experience bodily the penalty for disobedience, a public gesture of his “imbecile” status, for the body and not the “inner man” is the target of penal inscription. While lying face down, the humbled ascetic senses or glimpses the feet of all the other monks passing by his head in an act designed to underscore his position at the nadir of the gender pyramid.

Further evidencing his low status, the penitent then prostrates himself at the abbot’s feet, and subsequently at the feet of all the brothers. In this instance, his ritual behavior moves him *backward* in time; that is, he is now like a novice, who throws himself at the feet of all the brothers on the day he officially enters the community (RB 58.23). Only after these theatrical acts of submission is the excommunicated monk invited back into the liturgical choir to stand with his brothers, but even then the abbot can change his rank (perhaps lowering it) and “plug up” his mouth. The excommunicated monk “should not presume to lead a psalm or a reading or anything else in the oratory without further instructions from the abbot” (RB 44.6).¹⁰⁹

The body of a monk displays the gender pyramid of the monastery in a number of other gestural ways: inclining the ear toward the Rule as it is read aloud, an act underscoring the monk’s body as a passive receptor (RB prologue 1), rising, bowing, genuflecting, and bending the head toward the ground. Monks rise during the *opus Dei* in deference to the Trinity just as junior monks perform their inferior status by rising in the presence of their elders (RB 63.16). Likewise, monks in the oratory stand in awe when the abbot reads from the gospels, and they do so out of reverence for the Word, which enters their ears at that precise moment (RB 9.7, 11.9). In all, monks are to move always with *gravitas*, a gait characteristic of upper-class Roman men, even when hurrying to celebrate God’s Word (RB 22.6, 43.2).

Whereas the monastic body *rises* to meet the divine, and does so with a weighty demeanor (*gravitas*), it also sinks down to perform its fallen status. Monks are “worms” (RB 7.52), and thus they share in a worm’s affinity for being on the ground. This gestural stance is a marker of obedience and humility to superiors as well as an acknowledgment that monks exist perpetually under a vigilant divine eye (RB 4.49). At all times, monks must manifest this great and burdensome gift of living under the gaze of the celestial panopticon by bowing the head and keeping the eyes downcast (RB 7.63). When a monk is in the presence of a “bigger head”—that is, the Godhead, the abbot, a senior monk, or even a lay guest of the monastery as the Rule equates visiting

strangers with Christ (RB 53.1)—he flattens his body wormlike toward the ground. This gesture occurs in liturgical settings: bowing before the entrance to the oratory or prostrating one's entire body before the oratory's doors.

The ability of a monk's body to serve as a stage for the reception of the Word is not limited to the interior spaces of the monastery, however. Benedictines can fashion virtual oratories through gestural means. The Rule (50.3) explains: when traveling on some legitimate business of the monastery, sojourning monks must celebrate the *opus Dei* at the same time as their brothers do in the oratory by kneeling down on the road wherever they happen to be. This passage of the Rule intimates that monks are sufficiently immune to the world that they may embody the most sacred spaces of the cloister, the oratory and the altar, even while they are outside of the community's enclosure.

The Rule's chapter on the rituals surrounding the reception of strangers to the community is a kind of decontamination process. First, guest and monks pray together before a visitor receives the kiss of peace (RB 53.4–5). The ritual order—praying before kissing—is essential “because of the delusions of the devil.” Indeed, the prayer before the kiss appears to serve an apotropaic function: the warding off of the Evil One as a sort of exorcism. Monks also perform their “wormlike nature” before guests by bowing the head or throwing the body into a full prostration. The degree of submission no doubt depends on the rank of the visitor, as the Rule (53.15) specifies the presence of both poor and wealthy guests in the monastery. Rather than viewing this action as purely submissive, it may be the case that prostrate monks are acting out their superior status as members of a cosmic body, stretching from God's panoptic eye (who has Benedictines under his special gaze) down to the lowliest monk on the gender pyramid. Lay guests exist outside of this cosmological system.

In another act of decontamination, the abbot himself or a delegated monk sits with guests while the *lex divina* is read to them. The prior, who is less a “body man” and more a “voice man” and hence more immune to outside contagion, may dine with visitors even during fasting periods. The brothers, however, who are more immersed in the body and thus must continue to *feel* the divine presence through the pain sparked by an empty belly, are to continue on in their fasting. Intriguingly, the body of a guest is ritually marked by the body politic of the monastic community, as the extremities (hands and feet) are subjected to a ritual bathing. The abbot pours water over the stranger's hands because hands have higher ritual status than the feet,

especially on account of their use in the ministry of the altar.¹¹⁰ The remainder of the community washes the visitor's feet in emulation of the Savior's act of humility. The Rule glosses this passage with the biblical text "God, we have received your mercy in the midst of your temple" (RB 53.14; referencing Psalm 48.9).¹¹¹ Therefore, the monastery is the Hebrew temple, and, by extension, those who dwell in it are priests of the Eternal. On account of this biblical legacy, visitors who enter the monastery's precincts must be purified—especially on their dangerous extremities—in order to protect both the altar and its servants.

The altar, positioned in the oratory and linked to an angelic hierarchy as evidenced by its display of saints' relics (RB 58.19), is the hallowed nexus for the entire monastic gender pyramid. First and foremost, the altar is the site for manifesting the divine presence in the community, because Christ and his sacrifice on the cross are embodied in the altar. The altar is also the place where ritual reproduction occurs in the community. At the altar, God is made anew and monks are (re)born. As a metaphorical birth canal, the altar moves novices from their liminal status as incomplete liturgical mouths to full status as manly monks ("voice men"). Novices are stripped at the altar of their worldly costume and reclothed in vestments taken from the monastery's collective wardrobe, an act signaling their full membership in the corporate body (RB 58.26). The altar is also the ceremonial locus where parents offer their sons to the monastery as holocaust sacrifices. The father and, as the text uses the term *parentes*, presumably the mother as well (if so, she is the *only* female participant in the Rule's ritual activities) wrap the young boy's hands, along with the document of profession (the *petitio*) in the veil of the altar. The act signifies marriage to the community and the symbolic integration into its body politic (RB 59.2). Finally, the power of the altar radiates outward from the oratory to embrace the entire monastery, where even the tools and utensils of everyday life are to be treated as "sacred vessels of the altar."¹¹²

Simply put, the closer to the altar one is and the more one possesses the qualities of that altar, the higher one's rank in the community. The abbot's body parallels the altar of the oratory: his body is to be pure, close to God, a receptacle of the Word, and consecrated. On account of his service to the altar, a priest newly arrived to the community sidesteps the rank system based on date of entry to enjoy the immediate privilege of being able "to stand next to the abbot, to give blessings and to celebrate Mass, provided that the abbot bids him" (RB 60.4).¹¹³ The oratory and its consecrated altar serve as tropes

for the bodies of perfected monks, as the Rule commands: “Let the oratory be what it is called. Let nothing else be done or stored there” (RB 52.1).¹¹⁴ Likewise, prayer, meditation, and rumination on biblical texts alone should fill the mind of potent monks and function as markers of their masculinity, as one of the chief goals of the Rule is to convert the bodies of its practitioners into storehouses of the Word. The Rule teaches its votaries: “Nothing is to be preferred to the work of God” (RB 43.3).¹¹⁵ Furthermore: “Let them prefer nothing to Christ” (RB 72.11).¹¹⁶ Lower-status monks let other things slip into the body through its pores and orifices.

Dominant monks who sit at the top of the gender pyramid are, symbolically speaking, empty. Such monks have emptied themselves of everything save God and pure prayer. Their bodies are like scraped pieces of vellum ready for divine inscription; the finger of God writes directly on them.¹¹⁷ Their fiery spiritual natures lift them up into the realm of the divine. The high rank of these men also extends from their linguistic capital, that is, their right to use the mouth in ceremonial spaces and the parallel talent of controlling that complex orifice in all other areas of the monastery. After all, the biblical motto of the perfected monk reads: “I have put a guard [*custodiam*] on my mouth” (RB 6.1, referencing Psalm 39.1).¹¹⁸ Like the cloister with its blocked and heavily guarded entryway, the body of a high status monk is closed to worldly invasion but open to celestial penetration.

The mouth, its slippery tongue, and masticating teeth divide the Benedictine community into two, gendered groups: (1) the *improbi*, or “body men,” who are more immersed in sensory pleasures and frivolous speech, and (2) the *honestiores*, or “voice men,” who strive vigorously after somatic transcendence and oral purity. The separation of the two groups is a liturgical recasting of the late Roman class system, with its division between *honestiores* and *humiliores*.¹¹⁹ Additionally, for body men (the *improbi*) the precepts of the Rule are inscribed on their flesh as a testimony to their second-class status. For *honestiores*, however, the voice serves as the medium of punishment. The dual-class system of the monastery plays out in the opening image of this chapter: the set of guidelines outlined in the Rule for dining in the refectory. Chapter 38 of the Rule encapsulates the ritual tension between the dining monks, who are submerged in the body’s underworld, and the voice man, the lector, whose talent for reading lifts him up into the more masculine, asomatous zone. Indeed, the spiritual ethos of the Benedictine community can be read here in the opposition between the standing lector and the seated diners, between manly resistance to the body and the seductions of eating. In

the refectory, a perfected ascetic is “invited into the body only to resist.”¹²⁰ Furthermore, such a monk is taciturn save on liturgical or ceremonial occasions, when he reads in the refectory or chants in the oratory. In contrast, a *vir linguosus*, a “man of too much tongue,” lets loose his lips indiscriminately in all spaces of an ascetic complex.

Within the overall structure of the Rule, the mouth is a bipolar organ: it is the conduit through which a monk enters into the cosmic body and mouth, and that cosmic mouth distills itself most mightily into the community at the site of the altar. Equally, the mouth is an entryway to the dark and prohibited recesses of the body’s underworld. In the Rule the mouth functions to mark monastic masculinity; simultaneously, the mouth underscores the low standing of monks who have lost their liturgical voice or those who do not yet possess the full power to produce sacred speech. The gendered subtext of this ritual system is evident: the impurity of the mouth here transfers readily to the impurity of the pudenda. Language—especially ritual language—is a phallic venture.

This chapter’s gendered analysis of the Benedictine Rule has followed the methodological advice of symbolic interpretative anthropologists of religion, who warn that ritual systems can never entirely be understood unless scholars take into consideration their overarching structures, that is, the full system of practice from the ordering of bodies and their parts, to the ritual spaces these bodies inhabit, to the sacrificial actions they perform. Even more essential is the interpreter’s awareness of how all of these things—body, space, and practice—work together to produce cosmological systems and a ritual aesthetic.¹²¹ In the monastery, cosmologies inscribe themselves onto the body parts of Benedictines (mouth, tongue, foot) and their ritual habits (eating, singing, walking), from toe to head. The ritual aesthetic reconstructed here does not represent the daily lives of most early medieval monks, however. One can easily imagine that there was a great deal of resistance to the disciplinary tactics of the Rule or even incomplete knowledge of their overarching cosmological agendas. But comprehending the Rule within the context of its cultural logic offers a more complete portrait of Benedictine monasticism than is typically covered in the secondary literature on the topic.

Finally, the gender system established above represents one mode of monastic masculinity, a style created largely through high-status liturgical and oratorical practices. Gender dynamics in the monastery shift according to where the ascetic body happens to find itself. The discursive space of the

oratory, for example, produces a very different gender system than does the mute, shared labor of the monastery's garden. The focus in this chapter on liturgical techniques of gender sets the stage for how and why Carolingian commentators on the Rule expanded the gendered politics of language in the monastery.

Chapter 4

Carolingian Practices of the Rule

The medieval cloister is a brilliant example of how an emblematic, religious space succeeds in “mooring a mental space—a space of contemplation and theological abstraction—to the earth, thus allowing it to express itself symbolically and to become a part of a practice, the practice of a well-defined group within a well-defined society.”¹ The cloister is also a perfect illustration of a gestural space, that is, a space produced not merely through the passive positioning of the human body within the built environment, but a space created through the interaction of the body—with its economy of gestures and gaits—and the architectural structures housing it. Cloisters are generated both through the repetition of architectural features, such as columns, capitals, and sculptures, and the “solemn pace of the monks who walk there.”² The repeated ritual actions of monastic bodies (promenading, bowing, meditating) mirror the structural repetitions (column, capital, sculpture) of the cloister itself, and the reading of the cloister’s architecture cannot be complete without a consideration of how gesture, body, and space work together to produce meaning.³

The cloister succeeds magnificently in providing material form to the abstract and immaterial goal of the monastic enterprise: the harnessing of the infinite to the finite space of a foursquare cloister. Although it is not possible to visit a Carolingian cloister like the one constructed by Hrabanus Maurus at Fulda because such monuments of early medieval monastic spirituality no longer exist, it is still possible to experience the foursquare space of later cloisters like the one at Saint-Trophime in Arles (twelfth century). Traversing the space of Saint-Trophime enables the modern-day traveler to embody to some degree the disciplinary techniques of the Rule as the cloister’s covered walkway frames the inviting space of a garden. But getting the body up and

then down into this paradise-like space requires some zeal and physical exertion on the part of visitors, as potential entryways are blocked by arches and columns, and the few stairways that do lead into the tempting green space are arduous to climb. Thus, the manner in which the covered walkway and the garden at Saint-Trophime communicate does have a precise impact on the bodies moving through the cloister's repetitious space. The message—enacted through the medium of the body—is clear: it is easier to glimpse into the beauties of paradise (a spiritual taunt for the weak) than it is to enter fully into its delights (the goal of a perfected, monastic body).⁴

Spiritual monuments, like a cloister or a cathedral, invite their spectators (monk, pilgrim, or tourist) to participate in all-embracing spatial experiences, where physical exertion along with visual, tactile, olfactory, and audible components play significant roles. Quiet is also one of the languages of space: "Silence itself, in a place of worship, has its music."⁵ To some degree then, cloisters are spaces "measured by the ear," that is, they are determined through their silences as well as their reverberating chants, their hushed voices, and edificatory readings. In fact, the monastic *lectio* is a solemn occasion during which "the reading voice breathes new life into a written text."⁶

Carolingian commentators on the Rule similarly envision the cloister as a space measured by the ear. These ninth-century commentators privilege two sets of ears for monks: outer ears displayed on the material surface of the body and reserved for the reception of earthly sounds, and esoteric inner ears held in reserve for the taking in of celestial language.⁷ After all, Saint Benedict tasted God's food with the "palate of his heart."⁸ The division of various parts of the body (palate, ears, eyes, nose, tongue, jaws, feet) into inner and outer pairs is in keeping with the commentators' partitioning of the monastic body into two interconnected sections: an interior monk moored to the four-square space of the monastery, and an exterior monk, whose body engages more with the world.⁹ Hildemar distinguishes the two bodies by their kin: the exterior man is in communion with the beasts; the interior man, however, channels angels, as he himself is made in the image of God.¹⁰ The Rule embodies the civilizing process, as its ritual speech and gestures bring monks out of a bestial realm in order to place them under the vigilant gaze of the Deity.¹¹

This systematic inner-outer division inscribes itself onto the spatial arrangements of the Carolingian monastery, and thus a theological system works to produce space. Indeed, Hildemar of Civate is early medieval Christendom's first theorist of the foursquare cloister, as he defines its ideal dimen-

sions as one hundred square feet, from portico to portico.¹² Although Hildemar may refer here to the measurements of the entire monastic complex, the term “cloister” as designating only the covered walkway and square green space lodged among the central buildings of a monastery and providing access to them does emerge in the later eighth century as a unique architectural form.¹³

Following the lead of the monastic body, the “foursquare” complex is divided into inner and outer spheres. The inner realm comprises the contemplative cloister walk with its inviting garden or green space, and attached buildings—dormitory, refectory, kitchen, chapter house, vestiary, choir—spaces where only monks could circulate. The outer zone is made up of work and hospitality buildings, places where the monastic body perilously mingles with its secular counterpart. Carolingian commentators examine how interior and exterior bodies are affected by earthly and heavenly sounds, sights, smells, and touches, corporeal and esoteric phenomena enacted within the inner and outer spaces of the cloister itself. These same writers even, at times, survey the physiological processes of the monastic body. They argue that a monk’s mouth should be like an eternal cloister, a permanent barrier between the interior man and the external world. Control over what crosses over that boundary—words, food, vomit—must parallel the limited access to the inner cloister of the monastery.¹⁴ Overindulgence in food and drink causes unclean fluids to pass over the sacred, cloister-like boundary of a monk’s mouth, and the act of vomiting is both a testimony to a monk’s desire for excess and his inability to endure a life of self-abnegation.¹⁵ Even monks laboring in the kitchen must restrain their speech, so that their hushed voices do not penetrate the sacred silence of the interior cloister.¹⁶

The division of the monastic body into inner and outer realms resonates as well in the arena of monastic practices, such as the Carolingian commentators’ understanding of the public *lectio* in the dining hall. Smaragdus and Hildemar approve of the edificatory art of the weekly lector and his godlike power of animating a written text. Hildemar explains that Carolingian readers—those trained in the best theorists of classical and Christian oratory—possess the power to compel compunction in their listeners.¹⁷ In order to do so, a lector must have a strong voice infused with manly gravitas and devoid of effeminate singsong or fractured speech.¹⁸ Additionally, a lector must be a trained technician in the arts of phraseology, euphony, and syntax.¹⁹ Hildemar adds the skills of the cantor or grammarian to the list of the monastery’s prized artisans.²⁰ He also extends the Rule’s discussion of the art of reading

in the oratory by including a new participant: a monk who sits near the lector and gently corrects him silently (perhaps by nodding) when he makes a mistake, thereby enforcing the surveillance system of the Rule.²¹ Overall, both Hildemar and Smaragdus clarify the effect of lofty reading on the inner man: the “modern” *lectio* feeds the interior palate of the monk with celestial food while the outer man, framed by the charged space of the *refectio*, struggles to satisfy his gullet.²²

The writings of Smaragdus and Hildemar both privilege reading as an art emulative of the Creator’s powers—that is, breathing new life into an ancient text—and in their perception of silence as a kind of music capable of producing spatial meaning within the deep recesses of the cloister. In fact, Hildemar reckons that when he and his fellow monks go forth in the monastery chanting, they are actually not speaking at all but rather they are performing silence, as their words are entirely aimed at God.²³ More to the point, the magister of Civate suggests that a chanting monk, who is silent by Hildemar’s reckoning, is engaging in a sort of apocalyptic act, one assimilating his body to the space of the heavens, which stood silent for a half hour at the onslaught of the *eschaton* (Revelation 8.1).²⁴ The cloister is a haven for these sorts of celestial openings, directed as they are at the interior bodies of monks, and numinous silences produce cosmological spaces in the monastery.²⁵

Carolingian commentators achieve in a literary way what the cloister walk at Saint-Trophime and its difficult to access garden space communicate in material form. Smaragdus’s commentary tantalizes its monastic audience with sensual visions of paradise within the framework of a ritual system where such sensory experience is subject to intense surveillance and castigation. Similarly the arduous climb into the garden at Saint-Trophime from the sealed off cloister walk impacts the body of the climber. Soft souls clinging to carnal delights, Smaragdus vividly describes, frequent whorehouses (*lupanaria*) and frolic with whores (*scorta*).²⁶ In contrast, their hard counterparts ascend the heavens, where they recline with Christ in a nuptial bed, feasting on celestial food. As the outer body of a monk is progressively weaned off of soft pleasures, its interior counterpart participates increasingly in spiritual eroticism, in which the senses delight in their Savior: “Such [monks] hasten to come to Christ’s embrace, so that they might rest in eternity with him just as a bride reposes with a bridegroom.”²⁷ Thus, we can envision an erotic component to the production of cloistered space: the innermost recesses of

the monastery are mystical places for the penetration of the celestial bedroom and, perhaps, the innards of Christ's body.²⁸

This chapter demonstrates how Carolingian commentators extended the gendered politics of language in the cloister within the larger contexts of monastic reform, the revival of classicism, and even Frankish imperialism. On the whole, Chapter 4 insists that commentaries represent an exceptional avenue through which to refine the gender hierarchy generated by the sixth-century Rule within the theater of ninth-century practice and the scholarly culture of the Carolingian cloister.²⁹

The Art of Carolingian Commentary

Smaragdus (ca. 760–830), abbot of Saint-Mihiel in the modern-day Lorraine region of France and a scholar in the courts of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, wrote his meticulous exegesis of the Rule of Saint Benedict sometime after 816.³⁰ The name “Smaragdus,” a Latin rendering of the Greek *zmaragdōs* (“emerald”), is stunning but not unprecedented. “Smaragdus” is a Christian martyr's name as well as a biblical object: the “emeralds” embedded in the breastplate of the high priest of Israel (Exodus 28.17) and esoteric jewels ensconced in the fourth foundation of the fortifications of heavenly Jerusalem (Revelation 21.19). Smaragdus's writings betray a fondness for gemstones, diadems, and lavish attire, at least at the level of allegory.³¹ Smaragdus's name centers his identity equally within historical (the age of martyrdom), liturgical (the art of priests), and exegetical (the occult meanings of *smaragdi*) arenas. His writings appear to be informed by the lively exchange of Visigothic and Frankish intellectual culture that took place across the porous borderlands between what is modern-day northern Spain and southwestern France, and Smaragdus himself may have come from that region as did his compatriot and model Benedict of Aniane.³²

The abbot of Saint-Mihiel's extant corpus of works is eclectic, both in terms of genre and subject matter: poetry (including verse on his monastery and on the Rule itself), grammar texts, theological tracts, handbooks for princes and priests, discourses on vices and virtues, and moral and exegetical writings on the monastic life, such as his *Diadema monachorum* (On the Diadem of Monks).³³ Another work aimed more at an elite lay audience, the *Via regia gradiemur* (“We shall go by the king's highway”; Numbers 21.22), is Smaragdus's allegorical treatment of monarchical duty, probably written

for Louis the Pious.³⁴ Smaragdus's sources range from classical (the works of grammarians and rhetoricians), to ascetic (the *Sententiae patrum*) to patristic (Cyprian, Fulgentius of Ruspe, Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus) to more contemporary early medieval (Isidore of Seville, Bede, Benedict of Aniane). The abbot of Saint-Mihiel is a mystical grammarian, who delights in the technicalities of the Latin language, which, in his view, function as a sure path to the Deity.³⁵ In fact, the rules of Latin grammar reflect a transcendent reality; thus they are subjects worthy of Smaragdus's poetic verse.³⁶ He also served as one of the envoys of Louis the Pious's court, officials who were sent out to monitor the implementation of the reform agendas of the Aachen councils of 816 and 817. Thus he experienced firsthand the culture of Carolingian monasticism, both as abbot and imperial agent. As abbot, Smaragdus was involved in architectural projects, such as the daunting task of moving his monastery from its original position atop Mount Castellio to its new location a few miles away at Saint Michael the Archangel on the Meuse (Saint-Mihiel), where the community could take better advantage of the river.³⁷

Hildemar of Civate (also known as Hildemar of Corbie) lived and wrote more than two decades after Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel.³⁸ Hildemar was a Frankish monk, originating perhaps from the abbey of Corbie in Picardy, and eventually migrating south to Lombardy, where he took up residence as a learned magister of an unspecified monastery at Civate in the vicinity of Milan.³⁹ His *Expositio* (ca. 845) reveals familiarity with northern European monasteries, such as that of Saint Gall in modern-day Switzerland, and their customs, and the text frequently cites the ritual habits of the monks in an unspecified home community in Francia.⁴⁰ The author appears equally well informed about contemporary church-state relations in his homeland, as he cites papal correspondences, the Aachen legislation, and the writings of star Carolingian intellectuals such as Theodulf of Orléans.⁴¹ Not limiting himself to the painstaking study of the Rule and its ritual culture, however, Hildemar also composed epistles, including a technical one on the art of public reading addressed to Bishop Urso of Benevento, and exegetical tracts, such as a homily on the gospel of Luke, which he appends to his *Expositio*.⁴²

As Chapter 2 makes clear, Hildemar is a master of Carolingian bricolage, and he fuses lessons on the Rule with instruction in grammar, etymologies, poetry, and medicine.⁴³ Discussions of fasting in monastic practice lead to physiological meditations on the circuitous networks that make up the human intestines.⁴⁴ Besides being versed in both poetic and medical texts,

Hildemar is at home in the austere world of desert asceticism and the urbane civilization of the patristics. His *Expositio* stems from the lively setting of the Carolingian monastic classroom, for its extant manuscript versions were culled from student notes hastily taken during the magister's long lectures on the Rule. Like an academician, Hildemar often recaps the previous lesson before moving on to new material. He frames an analysis of discrete sections of the Rule with etymological discussions, such as the origins of the names of the months.⁴⁵ A lecture on the Rule's allegorical treatment of abbot as *medicus* is accompanied by instruction on how to apply a poultice to a wound.⁴⁶ Study of the Rule's syntax occasions impromptu explication of the dative case, clearly aimed at neophyte Latin students.⁴⁷

Hildemar's *Expositio* preserves its oral legacy of classroom instruction, as echoes of student voices can be found throughout the text, as when the magister adeptly responds to questions, such as "why can't a monk have a stylus?" Hildemar grapples with contemporary controversies as well, including whether or not the abbot should eat in the refectory with the monks.⁴⁸ He refers to customs not mentioned in the Rule, such as the Carolingian predilection for routine bloodletting.⁴⁹ Smaragdus's exegesis is more detached from its classroom locus, though like Hildemar, Smaragdus does display fondness for etymologies, the chief pedagogical tool of the monastic *schola*. Etymologies function in the early medieval educational system as "a 'starting-off-point' for a memory chain," that is, they prompt in the minds of students a catena of biblical and patristic passages as well as architectural and artistic images relevant to the word under scrutiny. As such, etymologies are a chief component of early medieval memory work.⁵⁰ Although Smaragdus's allegorizing style is more remote than that of the master-disciple backdrop of Hildemar's tract, it does echo the interactive culture of the Carolingian classroom. In contrast, the loquacious Hildemar takes his readers into the environment of the *schola*, where young boys were socialized into a new, distinctive milieu. For these reasons, the expositions of Hildemar and Smaragdus remain valuable sources for the reconstruction of the pedagogical culture of the Carolingian monastery, both in its ideological aspect as well as in its outline of daily practice.

The expositions of Hildemar and Smaragdus are meticulous, sentence-by-sentence interpolations of the Rule.⁵¹ In fact, their pedagogy often focuses on interpreting individual words, such as the prologue's problematic opening term *Obsculta*, a word not in the classical Latin lexicon, or, in variant manuscripts, the classical imperative *Ausculata*, "Give ear" or "Listen."⁵² Smaragdus

and Hildemar's thorough attention to the Rule's every word has led scholars to read these commentaries for precise topics rather than considering the texts as a whole. In this sense the interpolations by Hildemar and Smaragdus are akin to Carolingian exegetical texts, which generations of scholars avoided because of their overly technical and tedious natures as well as their presumed lack of originality. Carolingian commentators on the Rule approach its interpretation in the manner of a biblical exegete tackling the intricacies of sacred scripture.⁵³ The debt of the commentators, especially Smaragdus, to Benedict of Aniane's enterprise of collecting ascetic and monastic texts and his pedagogical zeal in demonstrating their harmony is equally clear.⁵⁴ Smaragdus's commentary on the Rule is the oldest extant version of its genre but probably not the first, as there is fragmentary evidence of eighth-century precursors.⁵⁵ In both commentaries, the Rule emerges as a hallowed text, a scriptural object worthy of exegetical investigation. It is the bible of Carolingian orthopraxy.

The target audiences for these two *expositiones* are the monks of Saint Michael the Archangel near Verdun and the community at Civate in the vicinity of Milan. Yet it is likely that the authors intended a wider readership because their texts work out solutions to contemporary controversies over practice within the reform agendas of the Carolingian Empire. Hildemar, who cites the monastic rituals of other houses, must have envisioned that his own work would circulate among the monasteries of the north as well as his community near Milan. Hildemar may even have had his eye on elite lay audiences, for he grapples with how to receive powerful guests to the abbey in an obsequious manner, including ritualized greetings based on rank and status.⁵⁶ Later medieval writers used Smaragdus's *Expositio*, including the twelfth-century Peter the Deacon of Monte Cassino, who inserted the Carolingian commentary in its entirety into his own exegesis of the Rule.⁵⁷ Considering Smaragdus's role as envoy of Louis the Pious's court, it is likely too that he was anticipating a broader contemporary audience (both lay and clerical) for his tract on the Holy Rule.

Although Smaragdus and Hildemar undertake the exegesis of the same literary artifact, their line of attack could not be more different. For Hildemar, the monastery is both *schola* and workshop, where the monks serve as spiritual artisans, laboring in diverse trades: reading, singing, manual labors, sewing, and cooking.⁵⁸ Hildemar's interest in artisan crafts and objects manifests itself throughout his commentary, as he lists the contraptions used in the daily regimens of Carolingian monasteries: water clocks, writing instruments, carpets, tools for bloodletting, drinking vessels, spoons, needles, holy water

fonts, fireplaces, soap containers, combs, and dining platters. Monks are God's workmen, who labor in well-stocked artisan shops.

Yet, Hildemar does not shy away from allegorizing these workshops, likening a future monk's arrival at the gate of a monastery to the historic crossing of the Red Sea by the ancient Israelites. For a monk, this ritual passage is achieved when the individual will has been renounced and the three monastic vows professed: "stability, the conversion of one's life and morals, and obedience to God and his saints."⁵⁹ In between the Red Sea and the Promised Land, however, is the arduous forty-year pilgrimage in the desert (at Civate, undertaken in the monastery), with its culture of murmuring and rebellion against God and Moses (and, by extension, the abbot). Those who murmur in the desert fall victim to plagues (Numbers 11.33), are swallowed up by the earth (Numbers 16.31–35), and suffer the vicious assault of poisonous serpents (Numbers 21.6). In the monastery, these same chthonic openings and perilous assaults on the body occur, though they are described here in a moral realm and precipitated through wayward practice.⁶⁰

Smaragdus also uses the Rule as an occasion to teach the tripartite reading of Scripture—historical, moral, and allegorical glosses on monastic practice—but his reading is much more esoteric than that of Hildemar. As noted above, the informal classroom setting of Hildemar's *Expositio*, with its energetic question-and-answer style, is noticeably missing from Smaragdus's treatise. In the poetic preface to his *Expositio*, Smaragdus characterizes the Rule as a footpath (*callis*) to the stars, one that is pleasant and spacious for the perfected but narrow and rugged for boy monks and adult novices.⁶¹ Ever mindful of spiritual fashion, Smaragdus dresses his stargazing virtuous monks in two pieces of occult garb. Virginal men don a girdle across their loins (*zona pellicia*) in emulation of the sacrificial thigh coverings of first-covenant altar servants (Exodus 28.42), and another sash across their breasts (*zona aurea*), in imitation of the Son of Man's golden breast band (Revelation 1.13: "et praecinctum ad mamillas zona aurea"). These mystical girdles work to protect, symbolically speaking, the militant chastity of pure monks.⁶² The structure of Smaragdus's commentary further displays the author's fondness for allegory, as the sections on the Rule covering tools for good works, obedience, restraint of speech, and humility receive the most attention, directed as they are at the formation of the interior monk.⁶³

The Carolingian scholar also brings to bear on the Rule his talent of composing treatises on vices and virtues, as many sections of the *Expositio* pair lax monks with their upright counterparts. He contrasts the soft, tepid,

and limp with the vigorous, erect, and strong.⁶⁴ Smaragdus frequently intensifies the gendered language of Benedict's Rule by peppering classicizing phrases, such as *mollis et dissolutus*, "effeminate and licentious," throughout his *Expositio*.⁶⁵ He augments the Rule's list of "blemishes" that keep monks out of the royal tabernacle— injustice, deceit, slander, pride (RB prologue 22–34)—by inserting the apostle Paul's list of sexual sins that bar Christians from entering heaven: adultery, effeminacy, and playing the part of a male concubine (1 Corinthians 6.9–10: "adulteri, molles, masculorum concubitores").⁶⁶ Smaragdus transforms the Rule's directive on not harming one's neighbor into a pedagogical platform for teaching sexual defilement legislation in Leviticus.⁶⁷ His willingness to gloss the Rule with biblical passages dealing with sexual vices may be the result of his own experience in handling deviant practices in the Carolingian monastery, where certain monks fall victim to rape or participate passively in "adulterous" unions. Importantly, Smaragdus's writings bear witness to the legacy of classical gender hierarchies within the realm of Carolingian practices of monasticism.

When read together, the *expositiones* of Smaragdus and Hildemar disclose ninth-century monastic constructions of gender. Although women are noticeably absent from the Rule, the monastery does generate feminine spaces for the weaker monks in its charge.⁶⁸ In contrast to the non presence of women in the Rule, females (or at least stereotypes of females) do appear in the art of Carolingian commentary as objects "to think with" about spiritual issues.⁶⁹ Hildemar writes to his virginal students: "Look at a whore [*meretrix*], consider how inside of her there is dung [*fmus*], spittle [*sputum*], and putrefaction [*putredo*]; no matter what is seen on the outside of her body, say, her beautiful skin, it is still the case that the things which remain hidden inside of her are defiled and rotting."⁷⁰

The classroom setting for this rather startling description of a rancid whore is one of Hildemar's daily lectures on the Rule, specifically the magister of Civate's instruction on RB 4.46: "Yearn for everlasting life with holy desire." In his lecture, Hildemar moves from the vivid description of the foul *meretrix*, a trope for the clinging on to illusory earthly desire, to three handy steps for accessing the enduring delights of the eternal life. The monastic body ensconced within the inner recesses of a monastery is, in theory, shielded from actually *seeing* a whore. At the same time, Hildemar's lecture suggests that the male ascetic body remains precariously suspended between the soft life of carnal pleasures (the whore's embrace) and the hard life of self-abnegation (union with the male Savior). Women appear in Hildemar's all-

male ritual system as phantom presences haunting the inner sanctum of the cloister and potentially anchoring the monks' bodies to carnal perdition. Yet female bodies remain ideal teaching tools for virginal men. A perfected monastic body exists in opposition to that of Hildemar's whore. Whereas she is rotting on the inside and beautiful on the outside, monks cultivate their inner parts at the expense of their "beautiful skin."

Gendering Ascetic Styles

Carolingian commentators expand the gendered meaning of the ascetic styles covered in the opening chapter of the Rule of Saint Benedict. Hildemar and Smaragdus also locate the asceticism of the cenobite, anchorite, sarabaites, and gyrovague within the ritual and spatial practices of ninth-century monks. Each exegete offers his audience a meticulous treatment of the Rule's taxonomy of ascetic styles, and each has his eye on underscoring the antiquity of the genus cenobite. For Hildemar and Smaragdus, the apostolic church at Jerusalem fathered the cenobitic movement of their own day, characterized by communal living and shared property. But after the death of Jesus' inner circle, the church began to cool off (*tepesco*) from its initial state of fiery prowess, not only its leaders, but also its community of faithful, who defiled the pristine church with their idolatrous practices.⁷¹

During this period of spiritual cooling, however, certain votaries of Christ retained their apostolic hotness and sought to escape the tepid times in which they lived by abandoning urban centers and taking up residence in the suburbs or even in "more isolated places," where they ritually reenacted the ascetic culture of the "primitive" church at Jerusalem. This movement, Hildemar informs his class, represents the birth of a historic *ordo*, that is, the first ascetic order of the cenobites.⁷² The genus cenobite then engendered that of the anchorite, just as a "good fruit is produced from a good root."⁷³ The anchoritic order, prefigured in the biblical characters Elijah, Elisha, and John the Baptist, is in reality an offspring of the "most fecund root" of cenobitism and its ascetic identity is grafted onto that of the more ancient order of communal monks. In fact, these two *ordines* work together, as their natures are joined, but they operate in different spiritual arenas, just as Christ's beloved apostles Peter and John represent respectively the active life and the contemplative life. One apostle does not excel the other, however, even though the gospels appear to privilege the relationship between Jesus

and John, just as the Rule insinuates that cenobites—the *fortissimum genus*—are superior to anchorites.⁷⁴

Smaragdus covers much of the same ground and similarly privileges Casian's teleology of the history of Christian asceticism, but his style is more elevated, beginning as he does with a mini Greek lesson on the derivation of the terms "monks" (*monachoi*) and "cenobites" (*koinobiotai*).⁷⁵ He adds, however, a gloss on chapter 1 of the Rule indicative of the Benedictine ethos of the monastery as a corporate body. In Jerusalem, the cenobitic apostles share "one heart and one spirit" (*cor unum, et anima una*, Acts 4.32), just as Benedictine monks exist as interdependent members of the same body.

Having grafted the genus anchorite onto the venerable tree of cenobitism, Smaragdus then blurs the lines between these two ascetic groups. In a departure from Hildemar's tract, Smaragdus uses the Rule's discussion of anchorites to investigate monastic masculinity. For Smaragdus, the cloister of a monastery is a kind of smelting factory, in which hard substances (monks) are tested in fire just as the diadems of kings are excellent witnesses to the talents of premier goldsmiths.⁷⁶ Monks are Christ's diadems—hardened in fire and proven worthy to serve as the crown of the Savior, who is envisioned here as a future spouse. Smaragdus moves on from this idiosyncratic discussion of diadems and gold to a flamboyant consideration of spiritual athleticism, combining the Rule's glorification of anchorites as foot soldiers in the desert against the devil with the martial vocabulary of the Pauline epistles and martyrs' texts.

The effect of Smaragdus's exegesis of RB 1.4 is plain: the Rule's focus on bellicose anchorites gives way to a more general treatment of virile monks. Monks, Smaragdus explains, are crowned competitors, most perfect wrestlers (*perfectissimi luctatores*), stellar athletes (*perfecti athletae*), who toil in this world to win the prize of perfumed celestial delights and victory over death. Chaste monks keep their eyes always on the pleasures of heaven, and victorious monks are dressed in biblical garb: "the breastplate of righteousness" and "the helmet of Salvation" (Ephesians 6.11–17). Monastic bodies then are like scriptural entities, onto which the history of Christian asceticism is written, from its biblical roots through its heroic age of martyrdom and ascetic brilliance. The distinction between anchorite and cenobite disappears altogether in this exegetical excursion on monastic athleticism and salvation.

Interpretation of the Rule's "four kinds of monks" also offers Smaragdus and Hildemar an occasion to underscore the dangers of individual combat against demonic forces in the desert. Hildemar details the perils facing those

cenobites who desire to venture into the wilderness without the aid of the “battle line” (RB 1.5) of their brothers.⁷⁷ The monastery is the training ground for this sort of anchoritic warfare, and only after the space of a long time may an ambitious monk leave the supportive environment of its martial encampment to take up hand-to-hand combat with the devil in the desert.⁷⁸ Hildemar’s verdict on the future success of the monk-turned-hermit and amputated from his home community is grim. A monk within the confines of the cloister where demonic onslaughts are thwarted through the collective power of the community cannot grasp the ingenious traps set by the devil in the desert. Such a monk, Hildemar predicts, will undoubtedly fail, for the desert legends warn that the temptations of the Evil One are so alluring that the fathers dared not to sleep at all but remained vigilant—even praying for those who had precipitously succumbed to sleep.⁷⁹ The would-be hermit’s body is open to a battle line of sins. Hildemar prefers to list them, and thus he makes clear what the Rule leaves vague. The “vices of flesh and of thoughts” of RB 1.5 are translated here into loquaciousness, impurity, fornication, gluttony, wrath, pride, and envy.⁸⁰

The commentators reveal even more, especially in the realm of gender anxieties, when they turn their attention away from heroic orders of anchorite and cenobite to consider the Rule’s taxonomy of soft ascetic styles: the loathsome sarabaite and the instable gyrovague. Both writers seize on the Rule’s curious vocabulary in these sections with their “orientalist” connotations. Hildemar identifies the term “sarabaite” as one derived from the *lingua syriaca* and comparable with the Latin term for “renouncer” (*genus renuit-arum*).⁸¹ Reflecting the pedagogy of the *lectio* in the Carolingian classroom, Hildemar instructs his audience that when pronouncing the unusual term “sarabaite,” they ought to place the stress on the *ba* (sarabáytae).⁸² Both Hildemar and Smaragdus focus on the Rule’s memorable description of the genus sarabaite as *taeterrimum* (classical Latin, *taeter*, “repulsive, noisome, loathsome”). Smaragdus elucidates the meaning of *taeterrimum*: sarabaites are “most black, most ignoble, horrible, brutish, and feral” (*nigerrimum, obscurissimum, horribile, agreste vel ferum*).⁸³ Following Cassian, the Carolingians locate the genus sarabaite in the scriptural past, but this time Smaragdus and Hildemar look to negative models, such as the defiant husband and wife team Ananias and Sapphira, who were struck down by the apostle Peter when they withheld income that was set aside for the church (Acts 5.1–11).⁸⁴ Hence, in the Carolingian imagination, the defiled troop of sarabaites emerge in ascetic

history as a biblical narrative revisited, embracing the culture of deception, greed, and spiritual weakness of the black sheep of the apostolic community.

Not surprisingly, the Rule's characterization of the sarabaite as possessing a nature "as soft as lead" (RB 1.6) elicits the most comment. Smaragdus bears down hard on the soft sarabaite, lobbing at him an arsenal of gender invectives culled from biblical and classical antiquities. Equally, Smaragdus shows in these passages his inimitable fondness for spiritual diadems, furnaces, and smelting metals. Sarabaites, he intimates, embody the cooling-off process of the history of Christian asceticism. In contrast to the "upright monk," who, like gold, emerges from a kiln with a fortified and shining body, the "spurious monk" is more like molten lead, which, once placed in an oven, "grows tepid and diminishes."⁸⁵ The list of Latin intransitive and inceptive verbs is also illuminating: *mollesco* ("to become soft or unmanly"), *depereo* ("to perish or fade away"), *tepesco* ("to become tepid or lukewarm"), *pereo* ("to waste away or vanish"), *descendo* ("to sink down, descend"), *decreasco* ("to wane, decrease"). Sarabaites have thus lost the vital heat of their manhood and have slid down the gender register toward the feminine side. Furthermore, the spiritual subtext of this cooling off is underscored by the author's invocation of Revelation 3.16: "Because you are tepid—that is, neither cold nor hot—I am about to vomit you out of my mouth."⁸⁶ There is a gendered eschatology as well: the hard, fiery monk will be received by Christ in heaven; his *mollitus* ("effeminate") counterpart will descend to Tartarus, where the devil will torture him.⁸⁷ Smaragdus's gendered politics translates into the monarchical sphere as well. Charlemagne's capitulary to his agents of surveillance, the imperial *missi*, calls on the gendered language of Revelation to scold the empire's monks who were engaging in same-sex acts, profligate bouts of gluttony, or secular business.⁸⁸

The sarabaite's evil twin, the restive gyrovague, receives even harsher treatment at the hands of the Carolingian experts on the Rule. Glossing the Rule's discussion of the gyrovague as slave to the will and his own uninhibited gullet, Smaragdus intensifies the gendered subtext: "[Gyrovagues] are said to be enticers of illicit pleasures, of *luxuria*, of most vile delights, in which a dissolute and effeminate monk frequently is enveloped."⁸⁹ Such men, he argues elsewhere, will be barred from the kingdom of heaven, for inordinate desire unmans a monk. Smaragdus locates *molles* ("effeminate males") among Paul's list of degenerates excluded from the celestial realms (1 Corinthians 6.9–10). In addition to calling on the gendered vocabulary of scripture, Smaragdus's language is imbued with the lexicon of classical effeminacy: *mollesco*,

mollitia, emollio, molliter, lubricus, infirmus, dissolutus, luxuria, voluptuosus. His rich vocabulary stands in direct contrast to the Rule's one-time use of the classical gender codeword *molliti*, a perfect passive participle from the verb *mollio*, "to make soft, to render effeminate."⁹⁰

Hildemar looks to the ravenous maw of the gyrovague as the marker of his depravity. Focusing in on the Rule's phrase "being servants to their own wills and to the seductions of their gullets," Hildemar fleshes out for his neophyte monks what Benedict left open to interpretation.⁹¹ *Voluptas*, he explains, refers to carnal delights—such as those taken from sleep or eating. Seductions, however, pertain to the gullet, for an overly satiated body leads to fornication and thus to other sins.⁹² A gyrovague's hunger is as unrestrained as the unruly ascetic's peripatetic body. Moreover, Hildemar elucidates the meaning of Benedict's statement "In every way they [gyrovagues] are worse than sarabaites" (RB 1.11) by telling his students that at least sarabaites build cells and work with their hands, whereas homeless gyrovagues merely sponge off the produce of other ascetic huts and run to and fro among diverse provinces.⁹³ At the end of his gloss on the unstable gyrovague, Hildemar clarifies for his class what Benedict intended when he ended his discussion of the gyrovague with the cryptic statement: "It is better to keep silent than to speak of all these and their disgraceful way of life" (RB 1.12).⁹⁴ Hildemar spells out what the Rule only hints at: Benedict understood that when monks hear about this ascetic genus they may very well be induced to emulate its depraved lifestyle, a *vita pessima*.⁹⁵

Smaragdus and Hildemar infuse their exegesis of the Rule's first chapter with the pedagogical, gendered, cosmological, and even imperialistic concerns of the Carolingian world. The classroom roots of the *expositiones* can be found in the commentators' use of etymologies, pedagogies of elocution as well as biblical and ascetic history lessons. In Smaragdus and Hildemar's re-creation of the history of Christian asceticism, not only are cenobites the most ancient monastic order, but they also carry within themselves the memory and practice of the "primitive church at Jerusalem." Therefore, cenobites are "little Jerusalem" relocated within the Carolingian Empire. The genus cenobite exercises a kind of ownership over the history of asceticism, and the natural end point of the cenobitic experience is the practice of the Rule itself, a view in keeping with the Carolingian reform agendas discussed in Chapter 2.

Both commentators introduce a gendered teleology into their history of ascetic origins. In the historical fluxes between hot spiritual ages and their lukewarm counterparts, perfected cenobites cling most effectively to the mas-

culine register. The feminizing ascetic styles of the sarabaite and gyrovague materialize in the Carolingian monastery as literary scourges (*flagella*) enacting discipline on soft monks who pursue the body's underworld. In his little treatise on monastic diadems, Smaragdus exhorts hardened holy men to flee *luxuria* and embrace chastity.⁹⁶ Smaragdus and Hildemar also blur the line between anchorite and cenobite, and, in so doing, they moor the martial desert hermit to the communal culture of the monastery. Smaragdus goes further in his gender politics, adding an eschatological dimension to ascetic evolutionary history complete with classical gender invectives. "Erect" monks, who retain their athletic prowess in emulation of male martyrs and biblical heroes, will inevitably experience the Savior's warm, celestial embrace, while their "soft" foils sink down to the torturous depths of the underworld. The use of gendered classical invective, especially in the work of Smaragdus, stems from the revival of classicism during the Carolingian *renovatio*. These sorts of gendered musings set the ideological stage for the following discussion, which places the gender pyramid produced by the Rule within the practices of Carolingian monasticism.

Gendering Practices of the Rule

As Chapter 3 establishes, Benedictine practices of speech and silence produce gendered hierarchies in the monastery. Sacred speech divides the Benedictine community into two groups: the *improbi* ("body men") and the *honestiores* ("voice men"). The *honestiores* draw nearer to the essence of the Godhead: "a disembodied voice." In contrast, the *improbi* descend more into the body's underworld. If the gender model produced by ideal practice of the sixth-century Rule is propelled into the very different cultural and ritual world of Carolingian monasticism, the end result is dramatic. The following discussion of Carolingian practices of the Rule draws heavily on the *Expositio* by Hildemar of Civate, as his text has its basis more in the realm of practice. Smaragdus glosses the real-life practice of his day with an allegorical flourish. Both Carolingian theorists elaborate on the Rule's culture of oratory in a way that illuminates their devotion to classicism, religious reform, architectural innovation, and even Frankish imperialism. In a Carolingian house, status in the monastery depends on possessing "linguistic capital," derived here from intensive study of highly technical works on grammar and rhetoric. Caroling-

ian churchmen looked to speech more than writing as a conduit for divine truths.⁹⁷

Because the organ of speech, the mouth, is prominently featured on the human body, it “draws attention to itself both verbally and visually, until it dominates the head and allows conclusions to be drawn about social position and internal character.”⁹⁸ Alcuin of York warns orators not to lick or bite their lips during public performances as such actions are uncouth.⁹⁹ Hrabanus Maurus cautions priests that they should be mindful of what comes out of their mouths. Priestly words are always to be meted out with reason and avoid irrational and reckless speech. Those priests who let careless words spill forth from their mouths will, according to Hrabanus, come to a bad end.¹⁰⁰ As a result of the Carolingian attachment to classical rhetoric, grammar, and oratory, ascetic theorists put into play a ritual class system based on the public performances of the monastic voice, wherein proper speech and corporeal deportment speak to issues of gender, civility, and social capital in the community and even the empire at large. The Carolingian monastic tongue, perfected in progressive schools, executes the agendas of church reform, especially its drive to create a pristine form of Latin. Hebrew too plays a significant role in the making of linguistic capital. Hebrew is, along with Latin and Greek, one of the three sacred languages of the Carolingian realm.¹⁰¹ When monks speak Hebrew words, like “Amen” (which Hildemar translates as *vere*, “truly,” or *fideler*, “faithfully”) or “Alleluia” (which he renders as *laus Dei*, “praise of God”), rooted as these terms are in the liturgical tongue of the community, they are engaging in a celestial act. As Hildemar explains, Hebrew is the language the seer John heard when the heavens opened up to him at the onslaught of the apocalypse. It is also a language spoken by the apostles, and its true meaning cannot be transferred to other languages, that is, Latin, Greek, and the “barbarian tongues.” Even more central is the fact that the divine name, *Ja* (Hebrew, *Ya*), is inserted into the word “Alleluja.” Thus when Carolingian monks and priests pronounce Hebrew words on earth, their numinous speech resounds in the heavens.¹⁰²

In this liturgical system, the most brilliant cantors and intellectuals in the community have more leeway concerning the disciplinary culture of the Rule than do their less talented peers. They are the star mandarins of the Latin language and Hebrew esoteric discourse, whose linguistic capital sets them apart from ordinary monks.¹⁰³ In a monastery such as Fulda, located on the eastern borderlands of the empire, refined speech serves as a prophylactic against barbarous infection, such as that represented by neighboring pagan tribes. As Isidore of Seville teaches, the monstrous races of the East

lack tongues.¹⁰⁴ Thus ascetic houses like Fulda symbolically occupy a frontier zone between the civilized West and the untamed East, and cultivated monastic tongues function as the dividing line between civilization and barbarity.

The hierarchy of the early medieval monastic *schola* sectors off monks into a number of distinct educational zones: reading, grammar, writing, and advanced study.¹⁰⁵ All monks learn the basic reading skills necessitated by the Psalter's command over the liturgy. A good percentage of the community then advances to the study of grammar and literature, but most of these monks probably never learn to write. Expert scribes reach the third level (writing or calligraphy), but as their talent for the scribal craft consumes the majority of their time they are unable to progress to the next stage, that of rhetorical composition. The intellectual monastic elite, who would be conversant in both reading and writing, find their origins in the rhetorical composition group, and, from there, a select subset would enter into the intensive study of scripture. Finally, intellectual leaders hail from this exegetical study group, and they alone possess the fortitude and virility to undertake and to resist the perils of secular study, with its classicizing culture of literary seductions. Hrabanus Maurus no doubt jumped through these educational hurdles to attain elite standing, as he himself intimates in his poetry and exegetical works.

Hildemar's monastery at Civate, which would have followed the general outline of this education system, creates a hierarchy based on the eloquence of the voice, for the means of achieving top rank in the monastery is verbal excellence, a method for exercising power deployed by classical orators. In fact, Hildemar deepens the classical roots of the Rule, making it clear that a select number of monks achieve authority through skill in speaking, as did Roman politicians. Unlike the desert fathers of late antiquity who purged their sacred speech of the taint of pagan texts, Carolingian monks embrace the works of classical grammarians and theorists of rhetoric and merge ancient views on oratory with those of the church fathers as well as more contemporary writers.

Access to the ancient theorists of speech is the sole reserve of the elite inner circle of the monastic *schola*, who blend the study of ancient and modern rhetoricians to perfect Christian liturgical speech.¹⁰⁶ Hildemar instructs his students: "The grammarians are essential because they teach rightly and clearly the obscure art of how to accent words while reading aloud and how to distinguish sounds."¹⁰⁷ He goes into great detail about how to prepare the mouth for the act of reading: the eloquent lector knows how to press his lips

together gently so that the sound they produce is suppler. Proper accenting, stresses on words, pitch, pronunciation, and modulation of the voice are major concerns for the monastic orator.¹⁰⁸

At Civate, forensic prowess produces hierarchy. Monks possessing verbal gifts have more authority to speak because their speech is expressive and eloquent. Those with lesser skills in oratory and insufficient training in Latin grammar are lower down on the gender pyramid, for lucid speech and classicizing grammar function as mystical paths to the deity, a view stated by Smaragdus in his commentary on the late Roman grammarian Donatus. In fact, imperfect monks are not to speak at all. Depraved and unrestrained speech expressed by an uncontrolled tongue leads to lascivious acts. For that reason, Hildemar advises his neophyte rhetoricians on this ambiguous body part: “The tongue is a slippery and mobile bodily member, as one is scarcely able to restrain it.”¹¹⁰ Accordingly, Hildemar warns his pupils to curb their inexperienced tongues.¹¹¹ Smaragdus adds that a monk’s tongue is capable of polluting all his bodily members.¹¹² We can imagine then that grammar and rhetoric function in this ritual system as prophylactics—metaphorical condoms on promiscuous speech.

As noted above, Hildemar adds grammar and chant to the list of monastic labors, and he includes grammarians and cantors in the ranks of the monastery’s artisan class.¹¹³ Hildemar underscores the importance of grammarians in the community by noting that a specially appointed deacon reigns over them.¹¹⁴ Even *improbi* monks who are not up to the task of decoding the salvific nature of Latin grammar are enjoined to hear its inspirational rules.¹¹⁵ Hildemar’s division of the cantors into more complex singing groups—cantor, precentor, succentor, concentor—speaks to the escalating role of the liturgical voice in producing hierarchy in the monastery.¹¹⁶ Intriguingly, Hildemar views the arts of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic as forms of monastic *disciplina*.¹¹⁷ The liberal arts drill the mind; the corrective lash enacts discipline on recalcitrant bodies. Overall, at Civate the acts of public reading and singing are major art forms—as well as interior disciplines—ones relying both on the “custom of the ancients” and the teachings of “modern masters.”

Yet the public *lectio* sparks gender trouble in the community, as Hildemar steeps his tract on speech with Quintilian’s directives, mediated through the encyclopedic corpus of Isidore of Seville, on the maintenance of the manly mouth. The priestly voice should be clear and simple, and it should possess the full vigor of manhood; it should never make rustic or clownish noises, nor should it sound too servile or too lofty, too fractured or too

delicate. What is more, priestly bodies should on no account exhibit effeminate qualities in speech or in movement, but instead should embody the virtue of *gravitas*.¹¹⁸ Dignified chant too was an avenue of Carolingian Romanization and functioned to close off “orientalisms,” that is, overly florid and luxuriant singing styles.¹¹⁹ Monks who chant badly, Hildemar observes, are tepid in nature and negligent in their vows.¹²⁰ The voice of a lector is capable of portraying the inner mores of different sorts of people through the art of pronunciation, including the moderate nature of old men, the rashness of youths, or even the weakness of the female sex.¹²¹ Thus the voice of a monk generates gendered spaces in the monastery, from the hot and dry zone of virile orators to the tepid zones of the very old, whose blood has cooled off, to the very young, whose blood has not yet heated up, and to the worst of all possible gendered spheres: that of wet and slippery women.

Hildemar’s glossing of various passages of the Rule with Greco-Roman medical teachings on the temperature and quantity of the blood make it clear that Carolingian commentators look to the classical world for authoritative arenas in which to understand the gender of monks. When commenting on the Rule’s teaching on the correction of young boys, Hildemar invokes the authority of classical medical writers, transmitted through Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies*, to differentiate age and gendered groups in the monastery. There are six life stages: infancy (birth to age seven); boyhood (age seven to fourteen); adolescence (age fourteen to twenty-eight); young adulthood (age twenty-eight to fifty-six); mature adulthood (age fifty-six to seventy-six); and old age (age seventy-six to death).¹²² Each stage possesses its own character, temperature register, and corporeal needs. Even scriptural study accommodates itself to this life cycle of monks: Solomon’s parables nourish the very young, as the Hebrew king’s moralizing stories frequently warn against whoring and heresy; Solomon’s wisdom literature speaks to the majority of monks, as it admonishes them to despise the vanities of this world; and finally, Solomon’s poetic masterpiece, the Song of Songs, is the sole reserve of the spiritually perfect, who are not adversely affected by its erotic verse and risky subject matter.¹²³

The first stage of life (*infantia*) shares a nature with the last stage (*decrepita*), as both exist in a stage of physiological flux, moving them closer to the feminine pole of the gender register, as women are unbounded beings. In the very young, the blood is augmenting, eventually moving boys out of the tepid range and into the zone of hot virility; in old men, however, the blood is diminishing, cooling off and lowering senior monks to the feminine regis-

ter.¹²⁴ Both states are prone to debilitating—and hence feminizing—physical and mental weaknesses as well as loquaciousness (young boys) and murmuring (old men). The instable physiology of youth manifests itself in practice when Hildemar urges that boy monks be given hour-long playtimes in neighboring meadows or other locations on a weekly or monthly basis.¹²⁵ Clearly, the very young, who possess damp and tepid bodies, are not ready to undertake the rigors of the Benedictine virtue of *stabilitas loci*. They are more like the impulsive gyrovague in temperament. In terms of the gendered politics of the monastery, boys are emerging out of the labile zone, embracing Benedictine manhood; old men, who formerly possessed the fiery nature of virile monks, are now more like women and share natures with the bodies of vacillating Christians who “cooled off” during the post apostolic age.¹²⁶

The physiological instability of the young and the old requires special dietary regimes for each age group. Yet changes in diet should be gradual, Hildemar cautions, as sudden alterations in food negatively impact the body.¹²⁷ Boys, whose blood hovers in the tepid register, are given meat to eat because ancient medieval experts instruct that flesh eating heats up the blood, thereby moving the young into the masculine register.¹²⁸ For adult males, meat eating “dulls the intellect” and “darkens the soul.”¹²⁹ Eating meat is a stumbling block to elite status. Indeed, cathedral canons were allowed to consume meat and lard, a culinary choice indicative of their liminal ascetic status.¹³⁰ Hildemar is precise about the appropriate diet for the life cycle of boy monks: at the age of three, boys consume the most meat, but gradually they are weaned off of flesh. By the age of ten or so, boys should be eating meat substitutes. At fifteen—the age of monastic manhood—adolescents should not take flesh into their mouths unless they have some sort of illness requiring its consumption.¹³¹

The adolescent ban on eating flesh stems from the liturgical culture of the purity of the mouth. Furthermore, fifteen-year-old monks are no longer allowed to “anticipate” communal meals, a practice mentioned in the Rule (37.3) but made explicit in Hildemar’s *Expositio*. At Civate, the very young and old receive modest meals of wine and bread in anticipation of the refectory’s repast (hence a sign of feminine weakness).¹³² According to Hildemar, the abbot may provide boys with the flesh of quadrupeds on specific festival days—Easter, Pentecost, and the Nativity of the Lord—and they also may receive eggs, butter, and fish.¹³³ The softness of boys demands a more luxurious menu than that of adult monks, who are forbidden meat, even that of fowls, because the flesh of birds is sweeter, and hence more dangerous, than

red meat.¹³⁴ Overall, Hildemar clarifies that the nature of boys is closer to that of the other meat consumers: the sick, the *improbi*, the very old, the imbeciles, cathedral canons, and even the visiting wealthy laity, the consummate flesh eaters in this ritual system. As a boy monk progresses into the state of adulthood, he is slowly weaned off of flavorsome flesh.

Carolingian reformers were split over the issue of whether or not monks should eat bird flesh (*volatilia*).¹³⁵ The views of both Hildemar and Smaragdus reflect a rigorist position within the context of ninth-century practice because they both categorically reject the practice even though the Rule offers no opinion on the matter. A number of ninth-century texts allow monks to consume *volatilia* but only during the high feast days of Christmas and Easter. In his *De institutione clericorum*, Hrabanus instructs Carolingian priests that eating the flesh of fowls is acceptable because birds share the same elemental nature as fish.¹³⁶ Hildemar's commentary says that Frankish monks considered fish to be a Christlike meal, and Hrabanus legitimizes the consumption of bird flesh by linking it to the same species as fish. Other sources note that poultry raised on monastic farms was set aside for feeding sick monks and those undergoing bloodletting.¹³⁷ Healthy adult monks were not to eat poultry save on special feast days set apart for that "soft" act.

Soft boy flesh eaters are the subject to the panoptic gaze of the entire community, as the Rule submits and the Carolingian commentators elucidate: "an *infans* is never to be without the surveillance of his magister."¹³⁸ Supervisors of the very young are to carry whips with them to curtail boyish chatter and jest as boys are the members of the community most subject to beating.¹³⁹ Masters thrash children in the *schola* and not in the adult spaces of the oratory or chapter house, the latter being a section of the monastery not mentioned in the Rule but featured in Hildemar's commentary.¹⁴⁰ Boys perform their low status on the gender pyramid by being enjoined to bow before the entryway to the refectory, a power space of the monastery devoted to the mouth.¹⁴¹ Even when getting up in the middle of the night "for the purpose of making water" (*mingendum*), the young monk must be escorted by a senior bearing a torch.¹⁴² Boys are to be monitored even while they sleep, and elder monks guide younger ones afflicted by nocturnal emissions to the washroom where they cleanse their defiled bodies.¹⁴³ Troops of ten boys each call for three to four learned *magistri*, who oversee their actions at all times, but especially during the night, when they are most vulnerable to sexual assault.¹⁴⁴ Hildemar explains what sorts of assaults lurk in the dark recesses of the monastery: a fifteen-year-old monk might seize a little one (*parvulus*)

and force the boy to fornicate with him. Intriguingly, it is the younger monk who suffers the lash (*virga*) for the offense, a verdict underscoring the seductive presence of boys in the monastery as well as their feminine-like immersion in the body.¹⁴⁵

Hildemar worries about the ritual ramifications of sexual battery—whether or not the two monks involved will be barred from the priesthood. If the younger boy goes on to live a chaste and upright life and never again engages in same-sex behavior, he is given license to become a priest. The older boy receives a light penance for the first offense, especially if he committed the assault while inebriated. Repeat offenders, however, will never earn the honor of the priesthood. If the older boy was already a priest when he raped the *parvulus*, but was drunk at the time and agrees to undergo penance, he is to be cut off from singing the mass for two years.¹⁴⁶ These passages from Hildemar's *Expositio* reveal a number of key features of Carolingian monasticism. Boys are valuable commodities because of their future status as full liturgical mouths and altar servants. As such, their intactness—like the virginity of females on the marriage market—is to be safeguarded and maintained.¹⁴⁷

In Carolingian monasteries, where the number of communal and private masses proliferated, priests who serve the liturgical needs of the community could make up as much as 70 percent of the overall population of monks.¹⁴⁸ Boys reared in the monastery have higher ritual status than do adult novices, who come to the community after experiencing the seductions of the world.¹⁴⁹ Certain boys clearly are singled out as future stars, for they are asked to perform their erudition in front of important visitors. According to Hildemar, it was customary for an abbot to summon a child and say to him: “Go and speak with the guest about chant or computus or grammar or any of the other liberal arts in a most rational and honest manner.”¹⁵⁰ Such boys evoke and perform the memory and deeds of precocious biblical children, like the prophet Samuel, who “was ministering before the Lord, a boy wearing a linen ephod” in the temple (1 Samuel 2.18).¹⁵¹ Hildemar's instruction on the custodianship of sage boys makes sense within the overall pedagogical and ritual contexts of Carolingian monasticism.

The age of the sexual predator in Hildemar's example of male-on-male rape is likewise enlightening. The fifteen-year-old monk has reached the age of monastic manhood, which is defined by the oratory. In the secular world of the monks' lay competitors, fifteen is the age of sexual maturity, but in the monastery, the sexual ripening of the pudenda is transferred to the full activa-

tion of the liturgical mouth, hinging as it does on rituals maintaining its purity.¹⁵² Hildemar is precise on this point: manhood in the monastery begins when an adolescent monk of fifteen takes his place in the adult choir. Glossing the Rule's teachings on community rank, Hildemar details the age-based rank system of his day. By fifteen, a monk is eligible to join the adult choir in the oratory as long as his manner of living is in line with his age.¹⁵³ Yet even the *bonus et sobrius* monk of fifteen is not free from surveillance—the abbot appoints for him a spiritual adviser, who monitors his transition from the discipline of the boys' schoolroom to the liturgical rigors of the adult choir.¹⁵⁴

There are a number of loopholes to this ritual arrangement, however. If a fifteen-year-old monk does not yet possess the self-mastery to leave the supervision of his *magistri*, then he may not obtain liturgical manhood.¹⁵⁵ In some cases, adolescence continues on into the twenties or even to age thirty, creating a humiliating ritual system in which certain men continue to stand with children in the power space of the community, the oratory.¹⁵⁶ Hildemar is clear-cut on this issue: Monks not up to the task of manfully performing the liturgy cannot take their place among men in the adult choir.¹⁵⁷ The medical reading of this spatial separation is obvious: certain males hover longer at the feminine temperature register, rendering their natures closer to those of lukewarm and clammy boys. As the oratory is a space devoted to the voice, the gendered separation of incompetent and competent chanters is essential. The best medical and rhetorical authorities of antiquity and the early Middle Ages agree: boys have weak voices because their bodies are overly moist; in contrast, hot and dry men produce potent chants. The one group of cantors must be spatially isolated from the other.¹⁵⁸

The disciplinary culture of the Carolingian monastery also parallels the ritual ordering of hot versus tepid ascetic bodies. Whereas the Rule subtly expresses angst over the corporal punishment of monks, Hildemar is openly apprehensive when it comes to the punitive lash. The problem of who gets beaten and why intensifies within the priestly culture of the Carolingian monastery. Hildemar devotes attention to debates over whether priests can be beaten at all as they possess high liturgical status.¹⁵⁹ The ancient Roman equivalent would be the *vir*, whose body is off-limits to assaults by hand, invective, or penis. The place of a worthy priest is, after all, next to the abbot, who stands adjacent to the altar. Hildemar notes that the custom of Frankish monasteries is to flogellate priest and monk alike, but that this practice is not

carried out everywhere.¹⁶⁰ In fact, a number of conciliar decrees bar priests from being beaten. As proof, Hildemar cites a canon attributed to the fourth-century bishop of Rome Sylvester, which calls for the testimony of forty-four witnesses against an altar servant when condemning his body to the scourge.¹⁶¹ Because of their access to the altar, priests are automatically high-status members of the community, who are given more latitude with regard to corporeal discipline in opposition to their *improbis* counterpart.¹⁶² Therefore, wounding priestly backs with the *flagellum* is a charged activity within the larger context of monastic gender and reform in the Carolingian Empire.

In a departure from the Rule, which does not explicitly liken the scourging of monks to the torments of martyrs, Hildemar is quick to make the historical connection. The magister explains RB 7.40's citation of Psalm 66.11, "you have placed tribulations on our backs," for his students, clarifying the identity of this biblical speaker. "That voice," he instructs them, "is the voice of a martyr, for it very well might have said: 'you have placed a *flagellum* [whip] on our backs.' It is possible still that it is the voice of monks, as they are subjected to monastic discipline."¹⁶³ This passage exemplifies the Carolingian aesthetic of bricolage, which narrows the historic gap between the age of martyrdom and the age of the Benedictines. The *flagellum*, by insinuation, assimilates the wounded back of a monk to the hallowed status of legendary martyr, adding a new, ideological dimension to the Rule's culture of discipline. Chapter 2 of this book argues that the memory of the torments of Christ's sacrificial athletes is embedded in the built environment of the monastery as a testimony to Frankish ownership over the age of martyrdom. In this same passage, Hildemar equates the cloister with a prison and monks with inmates. Like a convict locked away in a jail and awaiting the day when he will be released into the custody of his parents and receive back his property, monks, who are incarcerated in the body, anticipate the apocalypse when they too will be set free to take up residence in their rightful home, that is, the heavens, with their true parents, the angels.

The cloister as corporeal prison illuminates another major feature of the gender pyramid produced by Carolingian ascetic practice: that of the monastery as corporate body with the abbot as its head and the monks as its various members.¹⁶⁴ For example, the cellarer is the symbolic "guts" of the community, for corporeal vice may filter into the corporate body through his open gullet unless the abbot puts a bridle on his mouth.¹⁶⁵ Monks who prefer their own wills to that of the corporate body metamorphose into Benedictine

versions of the biblical Judas, who, Hildemar warns, was self-absorbed in his own melancholy.¹⁶⁶ According to Hildemar, a monk is like a woman or a man joined in matrimony to the body of another, but in this case, it is a male ascetic who is united with the body of the monastery.¹⁶⁷

Greco-Roman philosophy underpins Hildemar's teachings on the corporate body of the monastery. The body and its parts mirror the political and gendered structures of premodern society: certain parts rule (the head) and other parts are ruled (the feet), just as men govern women and masters dominate slaves.¹⁶⁸ According to various classical theorists, the midriff is divided between women's space and men's space, that is, between superior and inferior internal organs or left and right sides. The four elements (earth, water, fire, air) saturate the monastic body as well, and the celestial ones move toward the head while the terrestrial ones naturally gravitate toward the body's lower regions.¹⁶⁹

Within the corporate culture of the early medieval monastery, the laity would be at foot level, while the officers of the community would approach head level. The middle level is a contested zone, out of which virile monks ascend toward the head or their more feminine counterparts make a downward spiral into the lower regions. Significantly, adult novices, who are not yet members of the body politic, perform their low status on the gender pyramid by covering their heads; they veil themselves with an ascetic garment, the *melota*, until they profess their calling as monks.¹⁷⁰ Crowning the corporate affair is the abbot, who, like the human head, is akin to a celestial body, a perfect cosmic sphere. He is as far removed from the defiled members, the pudenda, as he can possibly be.

As such, the abbot's health and wholeness permeate the corporate body of the monastery, just as the well-being of the human head speaks to the efficacy of the body's discrete members. The abbot combines male and female traits in his person: as a father, he extends the Rule's discipline; as mother, he offers a suckling breast.¹⁷¹ The abbot is also chief priest and sacrificer, and he sits atop a hierarchy of altar servants.¹⁷² Hildemar explains that with a firm head the body and its members will thrive.¹⁷³ The abbot (and God) is equally a rider (*essor*); the monks are his beast of burden.¹⁷⁴ Yet, an abbot who is *gulosus* ("gluttonous," "overly dainty") or *vagus* ("unfixed," "wandering," "unsettled") must be joined to the corporate body in the refectory as a prophylactic measure. Under no terms may a *gulosus* abbot dine with guests alone in a separate facility, even though the Aachen 817 legislation eliminated the 816 clause forbidding abbots to dine with guests outside of the refectory.

Perhaps contagion will enter into the corporate body through the *caput's* cavernous gullet.¹⁷⁵ An abbot is to be sober and pure because his activities bear witness to the integrity of the entire ascetic complex.¹⁷⁶

The abbot has charge over both the inner and outer man of a monk just as he exercises dominion over the inner and outer cloister and their various exits and entrances. Following Gregory the Great, the commentators recognize that authority over the body is much easier to enact than is dominion over the soul.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, the surveillance system of the Carolingian monastery extends the authority of the Rule to make the abbot's presence felt wholly in the inner and outer man. Stability of place encompasses both body and mind, for mental wandering in ascetic traditions is "a kind of fornication."¹⁷⁸ Thus the head of a monastery must cut out both mental and fleshly fornications from the corporate body of monks. Additionally, the head of a Benedictine community has an all-seeing eye in emulation of the divine *oculus* of the Godhead. At Civate, the abbot's panoptic eye takes on a very human form in the guise of a monastic officer not mentioned in the Rule, the *circator*, who roams the cloister during prayer time, finding slothful monks hiding there. At night, the *circator* should take a candle and make his rounds through the dormitory.¹⁷⁹

Equally, the abbot's vigilant eye strays into the dream world of monks, monitoring them for signs of nocturnal pollutions. A monk whose nocturnal emission is not caused by weighty things, such as illicit touching, vision, thought, or drunkenness on the previous day, is given the remedy of singing five psalms, which Hildemar terms a "holocaust" offering (Leviticus 1), because it is almost unnecessary but still stems from a subtle sin.¹⁸⁰ The psalms function in this instance as medicine for an oozing monastic body. More flagrant eruptions of the body, however, occur during periods of sleep and thus call for the intoning of ten psalms. If a monk's defilement issues from *crapula* ("excessive drinking or eating," "intoxication") or from a wicked imagination, then the penalty is the reciting of fifteen therapeutic psalms. For the recalcitrant offender, however, the entire Psalter is to be chanted. These passages underscore the intensification of the abbot's authority over both the inner man and the outer man.

Besides monitoring the bodies of monks for nocturnal emissions, the abbot keeps a close eye on the cloister for instances of same-sex activity. Whereas the Rule (chapter 22) merely implies same-sex eroticism in its directives on the sleeping arrangements of monks, Carolingian commentators, building on the edicts of seventh-century monastic legislators, are quite ex-

plicit as to the sexual subtext of this passage. Hildemar is unequivocal: monks are to sleep in individual beds and a candle is to burn during the night to safeguard against sodomy, a vice described by Hildemar as a perverse custom of the ancient Romans (*consuetudo Romanorum*), and one transforming certain men into the concubines of other males. Such men are like those portrayed by the apostle Paul: males willing to open their porous bodies to sexual use by other men, *contra naturam* (Romans 1.27).¹⁸¹ Nighttime is a particularly perilous occasion for same-sex acts, individual defilements, or even roving imaginations. Monks are to sleep clothed and well girded, since binding the loins is a prophylactic against effeminate nocturnal emissions, which may occur when limbs rub up against one another, arousing the monk. Smaragdus specifies one cubit between the beds of monks to stem the stirring of the libido.¹⁸² When monks approach a sleeping brother to waken him for vigils, they are not to touch his body but instead are to rap on the boards of his bed.¹⁸³ Monks are also not to climb into the beds of their compatriots nor are they to sleep together in one bed.

Like the dormitory, the bathhouse is a space of considerable sexual anxiety in the monastery. In his discussion of when and how monks should bathe, Hildemar worries over the frequency of cleansing the monastic body that is in keeping with Carolingian reform agendas. The Rule advises that “the sick may take baths whenever it is advisable, but the healthy, and especially the young, should receive permission less readily” (RB 36.8).¹⁸⁴ Carolingian reformers were split over how and how often monks should bath, as bathing evidences *luxuria*, an overly soft care for the body. For example, elite Romans pampered the nude male body with anointings, massages, perfumes, and a ritualized culture of public bathing where *viri* performed their hierarchical status.¹⁸⁵ In contrast, Christian ascetics viewed such activities as indicative of Greco-Roman softness and a love of carnal *luxuria* (“excess” or “sexual pollution”). After all, desert luminary Abba Antony never bathed, not even his feet, as a demonstration of his *duritia* (“hardness”) and his *constantia* (“self-mastery”).¹⁸⁶ Hildemar provides one scenario for the appropriate times during which a monk may bathe his body—the Feast of the Nativity of the Lord, Easter, and Pentecost—the same liturgical cycle during which boy monks and old men are allowed to eat meat, another “soft practice” associated with weaker bodies.¹⁸⁷

Bathing also presents a perfect opportunity for same-sex activity. Monks, Hildemar warns, should wash individually in wood tubs (*tinae*)—and not in a larger stone edifice (*petrinum balneum*), which may accommodate several

nude bodies at once. Communal bathing offers an occasion for sodomy.¹⁸⁸ Bathing monks should take care not to expose their naked bodies to the gazes of other men thereby inciting lust. Hildemar warns his students that while bathing in the little wooden tub—an activity that leaves them vulnerable to ocular or phallic penetration—holy men must take care to safeguard the entrances to their bodies. In these passages, the anus of a monk—like the *foramen* (hole, orifice, aperture, opening) into a fortified city—is symbolic of nefarious entry into the community at large. The anus of a monk is a natural entryway for the devil; therefore, leaving that opening in the human body unguarded threatens the health of the entire monastic community. In this passage on bathing, Hildemar admonishes his flock: “If an entire city were shut up and fortified, but there remained one gaping hole [*foramen*], through which the enemy might enter, then the entire citadel perishes, since there continues to be an opening, that is, a mine [*cuniculus*], through which besiegers may gain access.”¹⁸⁹ Such musings on the exits and entrances into human bodies articulate the perceived vulnerabilities of bounded communities more than they do the day-to-day habits of most monks, though it is more than likely that these passages in Hildemar do reflect real transgressions of the Rule by certain monks. Thus in a monastic community, where each body is akin to “a beleaguered town, every ingress and exit guarded for spies and traitors,” the mouth, eye, and anus are especially anxiety-ridden bodily members.¹⁹⁰

The ritual purity of an individual monk is a community concern, for any bodily debasement is an occasion for collective pollution. One seventh-century monastic rule, cited by Smaragdus in his *Expositio*, details the punishment of a monk accused of routinely seducing boys: the offender’s head is shaven and he is publicly flogged, his body is then chained, reviled, and spit upon by the congregation. He is segregated from his peers and placed under the supervision of senior brothers, who monitor his movements.¹⁹¹ Transgression of hierarchy is thus inscribed on the body of a fallen monk, who serves as visual reminder of the dangers of infraction. In this system, a monk’s body is analogous to the uncontaminated space of the cloister; hence the exits and entrances of his body, like those of the monastery, are subject to heavy surveillance.

These fissures in the body politic can be precipitated through means other than sexual intercourse or anxieties over orificial penetration. They may be enacted also through routine acts: speaking, eating, ministering, listening, or even seeing. And these ritual concerns extend to interaction with the laity

(as one would expect) and even to canons.¹⁹² As mentioned in the introduction to this book, Hildemar forbids both canon and layman from nursing sick monks: “You see, how is the hand or the foot or the eye of the body to serve it if indeed it is not a part of that body? And thus how is it possible that a canon or a layman—who is not a member of the monastery—can serve an alien limb such as a monk?”¹⁹³ If necessity prevails, however, a canon or layman may wash the soiled garments of a diseased monk and carve his meat, tasks that would be conceivably defiling to the bounded, pure bodies of the *honestiores* class of monks. Laymen too assist monks in the kitchen for secular guests, as presumably they could serve as intermediaries between monastic cooks and non monastic visitors.¹⁹⁴

Taboos produce new spaces within Carolingian monasteries, creating cloisters within cloisters to safeguard the bounded, corporate body of monks from contamination or to lessen the effects of internal contagion. Monks suffering from nocturnal emissions are bid to wash in rooms set apart for that purpose.¹⁹⁵ Carolingian porters receive more elaborate spaces than the *cella* positioned over the monastery’s entryway described in the Rule (66.2). In his commentary, Hildemar equates the young assistant of the porter with the adolescent martyr Agnes, a young girl revered for her wisdom.¹⁹⁶ Hildemar relates a custom in his native land (presumably Francia) of granting the porter and his wise assistant a solarium with an oratory over the monastery’s gateway.¹⁹⁷ If the porter’s solarium Hildemar has in mind is akin to other Carolingian loggias or upper-floor fenestrated galleries, then the gatekeeper would have a superb view out toward the world and perhaps in toward the monastic complex as well.¹⁹⁸ Hence, the porter’s solarium functions as a surveillance spot, another position for the extension of the panoptic gaze of the abbot. Characteristically, Smaragdus adds an allegorical gloss to the Rule’s discussion of the gatekeeper: the porter is one of the seventy elders of Israel, who stand midway up the holy mountain (the monastery). As a result, the porter takes his place between Moses, “the mouthpiece” (Hebrew, *navi*) of Yahveh, who is stationed at the top of the mountain, and the sons and daughters of Israel, who remain at the mount’s foot.¹⁹⁹

Like the articulation of the porter’s private space, the increasing complexity of the kitchen management in ascetic communities illuminates the changing ritual context of the Rule.²⁰⁰ By the Carolingian era, kitchens had to adapt to an expanded list of invited and uninvited guests to the monastery. Hildemar warns monastic communities that they should strive to keep their cloisters away from the courts of secular and clerical potentates—kings,

counts, and bishops—who might interfere with the life of cloistered virtue. Equally, monastic leaders should minimize access to groups notorious for visiting sacred sites—women, clerics, and laymen.²⁰¹ At the same time, arrangements are to be made for the invited wealthy guests; uninvited poor pilgrims, however, will be accommodated according to the number of beds reserved for them. The presence of elite guests affects the ritual performances of the monastic body, as Hildemar instructs his students on how they should bend or collapse their bodies in front of potentates: for visiting kings, bishops, or abbots, a monk is to prostrate himself on the ground; for a pilgrim queen, he is enjoined not to prostrate himself but to bend the knee or bow his head in humility; for counts, priests, or other holy men, a monk is to incline his head in a salute.²⁰² Glossing RB 7.52, “I am truly a worm, not a man,” Hildemar tells his pupils that their “wormlike” economy of gestures is actually empowering, because Christ’s nature itself is akin to that of a worm, for just as a worm is generated from the earth and not from coitus, Christ is born not from the sexual union of male and female, but from the Virgin’s womb.²⁰³ Therefore a monk’s ritual performance of his low-to-the-ground status could be read as an act designed to underscore his unique, asexual character in contrast to the worldly contagion of elite guests, whose pride is inscribed on their lofty necks.²⁰⁴

The poor, uninvited guests eat beans (*fabae*) and receive ritual foot washings; monks who specialize in the reception of pilgrims are told, however, that it would be an affront to wealthy, invited visitors to offer them the same rustic fare or to wash their feet, perhaps because feet are such low-status bodily members.²⁰⁵ The commentator interprets the greeting each guest receives according to social and economic rank: the poor hear *Deo gratias* whereas the rich are welcomed with *Benedicat*.²⁰⁶ These passages suggest that the monastery is equipped physically and ritually to accommodate the Carolingian class system, and, as such, it exists as a “microcosm” of empire.

The stress of lodging the disparate class groups within monastic space manifests itself in Hildemar’s commentary. Quoting Carolingian scholar Theodulf of Orléans, Hildemar quips: “By God, if Saint Benedict were alive today, he would have closed his door to all these guests!”²⁰⁷ To preserve the body politic of the monastery from external contagion, Hildemar makes a number of ritual moves. The abbot’s guest kitchen is near the one reserved exclusively for monks. Yet there should be no access from the monks’ cloister to this guest kitchen. The spatial isolation of the abbot’s kitchen from the cloister complex stands in stark contrast to the monks’ refectory and monastic

kitchen, both of which communicate architecturally with the inner cloister.²⁰⁸ Hildemar stresses that there ought to be a window between the abbot's kitchen and that of the monks through which dishes of food or raw foodstuffs may be passed back and forth between the two separate kitchens according to the culinary needs of each.²⁰⁹ Undoubtedly, one motivating factor for this spatial separation is the fact that elite lay visitors were probably fed meat (and not beans), a foodstuff capable of polluting the pure mouths of the *honestiores*.

Significantly, the abbot's kitchen is staffed by a canon, who prepares the meals for secular guests, further proof of the liminal status of this clerical group, as they are perfect mediators between the lay and consecrated spheres.²¹⁰ If necessary, a monk may be appointed to assist the canon with cooking. Moreover, the abbot may designate two brothers to minister to the elite and poor guests. Another brother cares for visiting monks and canons, the only guests who may dine in the corporate refectory. Yet another monk oversees the preparation of guest beds. As Hildemar counsels, it is quite possible that paupers, counts, abbots, and bishops may all descend on the monastery at once and thus the officers of the ascetic house must be prepared. The nobles may very well bring with them their retinue of horsemen, who require special hospitality.

The Carolingian monastery is meticulous in its drive to forge separate spheres for visitors according to ritual status and worldly rank and to create a kosher-like system of kitchens. Because the Rule (31.10) likens the utensils and goods of the monastery to sacred altar vessels, Hildemar cautions his students that he had better not hear about the monks' kitchen platters (*scutellae*) being used for savory meat dishes.²¹¹ While carefully chosen monks minister to non monastic diners, perhaps even delegating the actual table service to low-status secular laborers (*servi*), no layman is allowed to infiltrate the inner precincts of the monastic refectory for the purpose of eating and drinking with the brothers.²¹² After all, the *refectio* is one of two essential power spaces of the complex devoted to the untainted mouths of virile monks and to their palates. In contrast, lay guests remain overly immersed in the exterior man and thus in his carnal tastes and habits. They spread contagion within the larger ascetic quarters and must therefore be isolated.

These anxieties over taboo and pollution generate cloisters within cloisters. Sick monks produce a hierarchy of spaces established by the stages of their illness. There are to be rooms set apart for dying monks, for sick ones, for those on the road to recovery, and for others waiting to leave. The sick

house is to have its own oratory, a spiritual and physical aid in the healing process, as monks are to take God's Word into their ears and receive Christ's body into their mouths. If there are more than six monks present in the infirmary, then a lector is to be appointed over them. The abbot also receives a private chamber to occupy when he falls ill, so that he may receive visitors there without disturbing the other patients. Access to private space in the monastery is the indicator of elite status. Of course, monks alone should nurse their sick brothers, though as noted above, laymen and canons may wash their defiled garments and carve their meat.²¹³

In addition to the cloister for the infirm, there should be other cloisters set apart for noble guests, poor pilgrims, and visiting monks. The lodging for visiting holy men is positioned near an oratory, away from the rooms occupied by the laity. The accompanying vassals of guest monks are to be housed logically with other secular pilgrims.²¹⁴ The monastic rooms dedicated to visitors appear to be located near the porter's lodge over the gateway, one of the key panoptic spaces of the sacred precinct. Hildemar points to the above scenario as the most appropriate one for sheltering pilgrims, provided that the local conditions are right for such spatial embellishments. If not, there should still be separate cells for each group.²¹⁵ Crucially, lay guests must be isolated from Benedictines, because secular men are prone to staying up at night, joking and talking.²¹⁶

As silence is a chief mortification of the body (as Hildemar puts it), the necessity of speaking when carrying out the day-to-day business of the monastery generates a new space set apart for the administrative discourse of the officers. This space should be sufficiently isolated so that such soundings of the monastic voice do not interfere with the "huge silence" of the inner cloister.²¹⁷ The system of expelling monks receives yet another space—a prison. Monks who come to the community as boy oblates but later, during adulthood, decide that they want to leave the complex are imprisoned within the sacred enclosure. In contrast, the vacillating adult convert is set free.²¹⁸ This division of adult and child underscores the high value of boys on the priestly commodity exchange as well as their symbolic cache. Boy oblates are like the sacred vessels on the altar and thus cannot be tampered with or removed from sacred space. If the abbot worries that a certain penitent monk may try to escape from the monastery's prison, he may restrain him with shackles and leg irons.²¹⁹

The Carolingians also add a surveillance space within which to monitor the bodies of excommunicated monks who are undergoing the drawn-out

rituals of reintegration into the oratory and refectory.²²⁰ Hildemar amplifies the Rule's plan for reforming wayward monks. The penitent monk who has been cut off from the corporate table and the culture of the liturgical voice in the oratory is analogous to the lepers of Leviticus 14, who leave the encampment of the *b'nai Israel*, which houses the divine, to haunt the camp's margins.²²¹

At the level of allegory the spaces of the Carolingian monastery project themselves into the esoteric realm of the heavenly tabernacle, a hallowed container peopled by unblemished priests and serving the needs of a polluted populous, who threaten to puncture the delicate spiritual membrane of the inner cloister. In this sense, the innermost recess of the monastery is akin to a "divine nuptial chamber," a fertility zone where the Godhead's presence is made manifest in the cloister-like bodies of his votaries.²²² In his *Expositio*, Smaragdus unveils the spiritual eroticism of the inner cloister. A monk, he reckons, should tremble in the dead of night, awaiting the call of his spouse, for whom he should rise up without delay. Such a monk enters into the celestial nuptial chamber, where the embraces of a numinous bridegroom envelop his reclining body.²²³ This sublime bedroom is most perfectly realized within the esoteric spaces of the foursquare cloister.

Carolingian practices of the Rule—cast within the biblical and erotic imaginations of monastic pedagogues—suggest that by the ninth century, the inner cloister has emerged as a singular power space within the empire. The cloister exercises command over the entire history of Christian asceticism, from its apostolic origins through the heroic age of martyrdom and culminating in Benedictine perfection. Simultaneously, the cloister foreshadows the eschatological delights awaiting a monk in the divine nuptial chamber. Within the context of Carolingian "modernity," and its accompanying aesthetic of bricolage, the cloister is a sophisticated *schola*, reflecting the cross-cultural pedagogical tastes of modern masters, who perfect God's Word through the study of sacred scripture, classical rhetoric, and liturgical theory.

Equally, the *claustrum* is a sparring ground for competitive, corporeal styles: the ritual and gendered gestures of monastic mandarins, the carnal leanings of their labile counterparts, and the presence of the encroaching laity. The cloister's confines mirror the girded bodies of monks who walk its hallowed spaces. In fact, monastic bodies should be like the cloister—spaces closed off to carnal penetrations through eye, mouth, ear, or anus. As Smaragdus stresses, "Beloved Christ is not found in a bed of carnal pleasures."²²⁴ The intactness of an ascetic body also speaks to the *pudicitia* of the entire

environment of the cloister. For this reason, Carolingian ascetic intellectuals intensify the Rule's surveillance system through new panoptic officers (the *circator*) and novel custodial spaces outfitted with leg irons and shackles—prisons for “leperous” or rebellious monks.²²⁵

In contrast to the bounded bodies of monks, the bodies of the laity are loose, open, even gaping, and the lay mouth is unconstrained in its expulsion of profane speech. After all, soldiers of the world, Smaragdus says, have “weak and slippery weapons.”²²⁶ Such men are addicted to guilty passions and desires.²²⁷ Likewise, the elite lay mouth is tainted by its eating of flavorful flesh, a marker of “soft” status within the ascetic precincts. The reverse is true of the undefiled vegetarian mouth of the monastic elite.²²⁸ Monks eat the Word; in the refectory, God's language, recited by a highly trained lector, feeds their palates. The liturgical voice releases eloquent and mystical prayer within carefully prescribed and increasingly elaborate spaces. The enactment of this pure prayer is enhanced by careful study of the greatest *magistri* of rhetoric, from classical antiquity up through the Carolingian experts themselves. The public performances of the monastic voice and corporeal deportment visibly manifest the line between Benedictine eloquence and barbarous prattle (*rusticitas*).

Empty and silent cenobitic bodies are also like pieces of scraped vellum, blank and ready to receive the divine word, just as the inner cloister and its prayer spaces are open to celestial penetrations. In keeping with this perspective, Hildemar associates the medical instruments used to pierce the bodies of monks (forceps, tools for bloodletting, lance) with those employed by a scribe approaching a blank vellum page (reed pen, writing stool, scraping knife, pumice stone) and even those exploited by an ascetic advancing in his corporeal austerities (vigils, fasts, nakedness, and bodily obedience).²²⁹ All these “crafts”—bloodletting, piercing a piece of parchment with a stylus, or puncturing the ascetic body with wounding fasts—are kinds of ritual writings on the flesh.²³⁰ Spiritual mutilations of monastic flesh, like the engraved letters on a sacred page, accentuate the immediacy of the divine presence within the “closed-off” precincts of the monastic complex.

The Carolingian cloister produces spaces for these sorts of esoteric engravings on virginal male bodies. And it does so within an architectural environment where unbounded lay bodies encounter circumscribed monastic bodies. As Smaragdus characterizes it: “Our interior man fights against the exterior man, and the exterior man struggles with the interior man”²³¹ This contest takes place both within the inner *claustrum* (the arena for internal

combat) and the outer cloister (the zone where virile ascetic bodies dangerously mingle with their secular counterparts). Feminine presences haunt both the inner and outer zones of the Carolingian cloister. They are located in the following arenas: schoolroom lectures on gendered ascetic styles, monastic bodies fluctuating between feminine and masculine poles of the gendered temperature register, and the contagious spaces given over to lay pilgrims. The remaining chapters take the above gendered, medical, and spatial teachings on corporeal styles and project them onto well-known architectural and artistic monuments of the ninth-century Frankish world: the westwork of the Carolingian monastery at Corvey, the rotunda church of the Fulda abbey, the space disclosed by the Plan of Saint Gall, and Hrabanus Maurus's Christ in his *In Honor of the Holy Cross*.

Chapter 5

Inscribing the Rule onto Carolingian Sacred Space

Architectural historian Charles McClendon looks to a singular monumental type, the so-called Frankish westwork, as indicative of the innovative nature of Carolingian building. At the same time, early medieval westworks are notoriously problematic architectural creations. In fact, scholars remain divided as to their precise structural attributes because extant westworks evidence great diversity in form, scale, and function. A general typology for the classic Carolingian westworks of the eighth and ninth centuries is as follows: “stair towers flanking the western entrance of a church and leading to an interior gallery or tribune.”¹ Typically, a westwork is lodged within the precincts of a monastery or even in a royal palace complex, such as Charlemagne’s sprawling buildings at Aachen in modern-day Germany.

The spatial practices of these western edifices are as contested as are their confused typologies. Complicating matters further, literary evidence that might shed light on the ritual uses of westworks is slim. Nevertheless, architectural historians from the 1930s to the present day have proposed a number of scenarios for the monumental western entryways to Carolingian churches. Westworks, they argue, enclosed an array of ritual practices and social interactions. Above all these structures functioned as ceremonial entryways, a Christian adaptation of a Roman triumphal arch, itself designed to frame and commemorate the jubilant procession of military celebrations.² Certain westworks also served as funerary crypts, throne rooms, baptismal arenas, and perhaps defensive fortresses. All these theories about the meaning of westworks continue to be debated by historians and architectural historians, especially the imperial associations of the edifice (as a *Kaiserkirche*) or the

interpretation of a Frankish westwork as a symbolic recreation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.³

Westworks were also liturgical galleries designed to display a screened view of the bodies of chanting monks on solemn feast days. This last ritual use of the space suggests that Carolingian holy men envisioned the tribune as a western choir, an additional liturgical area set apart from the hallowed east choir of a basilica. As such, Carolingian westworks are imperialistic spaces, monastic outposts within the lay district of a basilica. Although extant westworks preserve little evidence of their original altar dedications, sacrificial tables were probably included in the interiors of these monumental structures because the spaces were used as oratories.⁴ It is equally likely that the westwork was a place where lay and clerical elites met, an encounter burdened with spiritual and carnal anxieties. As an assembly space for pilgrims and monks, westworks transplant the design of early Christian atria, open-air courtyards situated in front of the entrances to major basilicas, to Frankish monasteries. In fact, certain Carolingian westworks stand over preexisting monastic atria or even ceremonial, freestanding arches.⁵ The westwork remains a fluid architectural form, one housing diverse activities and clientele and one only partially known to the expert eye.

Though there is no scholarly consensus as to the form and function of the Carolingian westwork, architectural historians agree that one of the best preserved and most illustrative examples can be found at the abbey of Corvey on the Weser River in present-day Westphalia (early medieval Saxony).⁶ The abbey of Corvey was founded in the 820s by monks from the motherhouse of Corbie in Picardy, and the abbey enjoyed the special favors of the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious. Between the ninth and the eleventh centuries, Corvey emerged as one of the most influential monasteries in the empire.⁷ For architectural historians, the abbey's renown stems from its relatively intact westwork in spite of Romanesque and sixteenth-century additions as well as post-World War II renovations.

The exterior of the westwork is marked by one of the great stylistic innovations in Carolingian building: intense verticality in contrast to the pronounced horizontal mass of the early Christian basilica form (Figure 5.1). Corvey's monumental front is set off by two soaring towers punctuated by slit-window openings, a four-story projecting central porch serving as the entryway to the westwork's ground-level interior, and two curved arches on either side of the porch. Formerly there was an oculus located at the very top of this entry porch where today a statuary niche can be seen (Figure 5.2).



Figure 5.1. Exterior façade of the westwork at Corvey, Germany (ca. 885). Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.



Figure 5.2. Site of the former Carolingian oculi, westwork at Corvey. Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.

Two other arches positioned at the foot of each tower direct the bodies of visitors to the interior staircases housed within the northwest and southwest corners. Originally, there were three towers, as a so-called lantern tower existed behind the façade towers, which served to illuminate the interior space of the gallery. In fact, early medieval Christians referred to the complex as the *tres turres*, or the “Three Towers,” a term underscoring the importance of the lofty entryway.⁸

The gallery itself is divided into three vertical zones: a ground-floor level characterized by its “foursquare” measure (a little over 36 feet by 36 feet) and accessed through the central arch of the porch exterior.⁹ This zone is marked off by four central, impressively carved columns from which nine groin vaults spring. At the very eastern end of the ground level there is a small alcove designed to move guests from the westwork into the westernmost sector of the basilica. Above the ground floor is a gallery two stories high surrounded by impressive arcading carried on stone-cut piers (Figure 5.3).

Over the arcade on the western wall rises a large arch, whose curvilinear shape reverberates among a series of smaller arches encircling the uppermost tier of the westwork. Visitors to the monastery accessed the second-floor gallery by means of the northwest or southwest tower staircases; the monks presumably would enter through the western end of the basilica into the ground floor of the westwork. The gallery offers the spectator a glimpse into the nave space of the basilica, but in the Carolingian period the view was partially blocked by a screen. The ninth-century tribune was multihued as extant, fragmentary frescoes of human figures, marine animals, and geometric patterns, can even now be detected. The dedicatory *titulus* (ca. 885), still visible under the top window of the central porch façade, reads: “You, Lord, surround this city, and your angels guard its walls,” an inscription testifying to the westwork’s apotropaic function like a gate in a city or fortress wall (Figure 5.4).¹⁰ The angelic fortress of Corvey exemplifies how monastic constructions of gender are inscribed onto Carolingian sacred spaces and their attendant practices.

For example, the monumental westwork of the Carolingian monastic complex at Corvey is imbued with theological and gendered meaning. In the theological arena, the westwork uses structural features such as spatial triads—triple towers, triple arcading, and triple squaring in both the central bays and groin vaults—to navigate the body of a lay visitor or monastic practitioner through a complex material narrative of the abbey’s successful mooring of Trinitarian power to its numinous precincts.¹¹ In the gendered



Figure 5.3. Upper level of the interior chapel of the westwork at Corvey. Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.

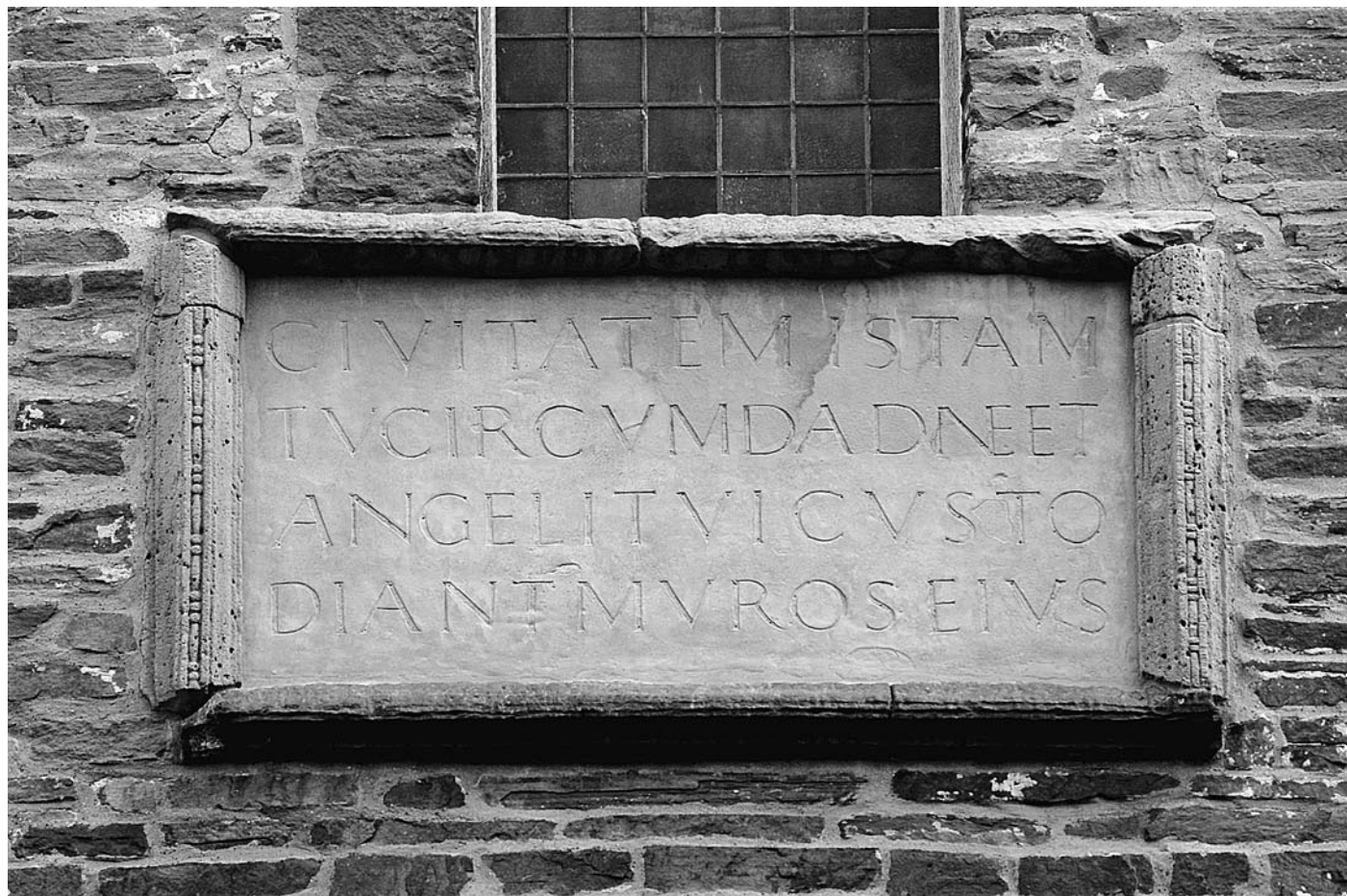


Figure 5.4. Dedicatory *titulus*, westwork at Corvey. Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.

sphere, the second-tier interior space of the westwork contains remnants of what must have been a stunning visual repertoire derived from classical mythology. In the gallery, murky frescoes of a bellicose Ulysses combating the female monster Scylla and perhaps (as the image is poorly preserved) an accompanying figure of a bound Ulysses taunted by the luxurious and carnal singing of a Siren (a better preserved likeness) are still perceptible (Figure 5.5).¹²

The monks of Corvey received their knowledge of the ruthless Scylla through the leading textbook of the day, the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville, who describes the monster as a female creature girded with yapping dog heads.¹³ Isidore represents Scylla's sidekicks, the terrifying Sirens, as three virginal maidens equipped with wings and talons, who love to fly through the air and inflict wounds on hapless male victims. Each Siren possesses a distinctive talent: one sings, one plays the lyre, and another the flute. The lyrical music of the bird-maidens drags uncanny sailors off their ships to meet their doom, just as whores typically ensnare lesser men. According to Isidore, these maritime seducers are the vicious scions of the pagan goddess Venus, who, like the Sirens, is a spawn of the foamy sea.¹⁴

At first glance, this classicizing and erotic iconography appears oddly situated within a tower dedicated to the sacred voices of virginal males. On further inspection, however, the allegorical reading of the Ulysses narrative suggests that this representation is a perfect trope for the anxieties sparked by the arduous life of cloistered virtue, with its cyclical onslaughts of *luxuria* and desire. The sensuous chanting of the Siren tempts a shackled Ulysses to break his fleshly fetters. Nonetheless a triumphant Ulysses pierces the mouth of one of Scylla's dog heads with his lance, a sign of the victory of the perfected monk over menacing carnality.¹⁵

Equally intriguing is the monastic graffiti etched in the gallery of the upper level of the Corvey westwork, positioned at about one to two meters above a no longer extant wooden platform.¹⁶ Carolingian musicologists have identified these etchings as letter cues for musical notations, perhaps cheat sheets for boy chanters, who lacked the proficiency and memory to endure the rigors of monastic chanting. The interior gallery of the westwork confronts visitors with two different representations of singing: the captivating chants of the bestial Siren, which propel men toward the underworld, juxtaposed with godly musical notations, which direct monastic voices toward the heavens. The spatial setting of this lyrical fusion is a charged one, because the westwork was the place where monastic and lay elites assembled together. As



Figure 5.5. Ulysses, Scylla, a Siren, and yapping dog heads, remains of a Carolingian fresco, interior chapel, westwork at Corvey. Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.

such, the monks undoubtedly associated the disruptive presence of the laity with the worldly temptations personified by the Siren's song. Like the Siren, monks under fifteen were objects of adult male desire, and their presence in the choir, suggested by the musical notations, intensifies the erotic reading of the space.

During solemn liturgical events, the Corvey westwork housed a variety of Dark Age corporeal styles: the meat-eating laity, skilled monastic orators, and inexpert young chanters. Visiting women would have found their strongest and most negative association with the monstrous female figures of Scylla and the seductive Siren. At Corvey, indecent singing (the Siren's song) and inexperienced singing (the reedy chants of oblates) test the corporeal resolve of Christ's virile orators, personified here by the martial Ulysses, whose body—bound as it is to a ship's mast—personifies the Crucified One in the works of early biblical exegetes. The goal of the monastic enterprise can be read in this one anxiety-provoking space: the constant (and constantly erotic) struggle to move the monk from the place of man, which is "in the body," to the realm of God which is "in the voice."¹⁷

Corvey's tower of song also evidences the haunting presence of the feminine in the inner and outer realms of a Carolingian monastic precinct as well as in the inner and outer bodies of ascetic practitioners. Just as Hildemar of Civate uses the loathsome image of an oozing whore to teach his students about the perils of pressing carnality, the figural repertoire of the Corvey westwork employs monstrous females—the Scylla and the Siren—to exemplify visually a similar spiritual lesson. The Siren and the Scylla are amalgams: part woman, part beast. As such they are corporeal abominations and the products of brutal, physical transformations, such as when bird talons break through the delicate flesh of a maiden's foot. In Isidore's *Etymologies* these monstrous females linger on the margins of the globe, sharing an exotic terrain with the dog-headed men of India, the terrifying gorgons, characterized as "whores with serpentine locks" (*meretrices crinitas serpentibus*), and the unclean hermaphrodites, who mix male and female parts in one defiled body.¹⁸

The images of the Scylla and the Siren thus import the exoticism of foreign lands into the foursquare space of the monks' westwork. Therefore, the iconographic program of the westwork creates a theater for the confrontation between the spiritual and the profane. It also deepens the allegorical reading of the foursquare space, as the book of Revelation juxtaposes monstrous feminine characters (Jezebel, the whore of Babylon, apocalyptic locusts

sporting women's hair) with the troops of virgin male martyrs of Christ. Ultimately, the Siren and the Scylla signal to the spectators of the westwork the dangerous enterprise of the monastic venture, threatened as it is from the outside by the snares of bestial women, soft men, and demonic forces, and from the inside by the seductive company of fellow monks.

This chapter demonstrates how gendered practices of the Rule manifest themselves in Carolingian architecture and hagiography. Specifically, the theme of the monastery as a corporate body finds expression in a funerary edifice, Fulda's Michael Rotunda (ca. 822), and in a saint's life, the *Vita* of Abbot Eigil (ca. 840). In the case of the Michael Rotunda, monastic constructions of the body determine the spiritual reading of the building and play a role in deciphering the nature of its design. In the *Life of Eigil*, monastic and biblical notions of gender frame the narrative structure of the text and foster its political meaning within the empire. All three sources examined in this chapter, westwork, crypt, and sacred biography, make it clear that gender hierarchies in the monastery extend beyond the realm of ritual practice to embrace the visual and literary cultures created by monks.

The Corporate Body of Fulda

Like the westwork at the abbey of Corvey, the Michael Rotunda of Fulda is a well-preserved monument of the Carolingian era in spite of early Romanesque additions, especially to the ambulatory level, and later renovations. The Michael Rotunda continues to be the subject of speculation as to its Carolingian spatial practices.¹⁹ Unlike the westwork at Corvey, however, the Michael Rotunda is familiar to contemporary scholars through both material and textual media. Historians even know the name of Fulda's monk-architect working under Abbot Eigil: Rachulf.²⁰ Hrabanus Maurus's votary Brun Candidus wrote the *Life of Eigil of Fulda*, which gives a noteworthy account of the design, building program, and salvific meaning of the abbey's rotunda crypt and ambulatory chapel.²¹ Candidus tells his audience that the elderly abbot had invited him, the least of all of God's servants, to join his intimate circle.²² The hagiographer's account of his benefactor's life takes place within the larger context of the famous strike of the Fulda monks against Ratgar and the reestablishment of fraternal harmony under the venerable Eigil, a monk whose body was imbued with solemn gravitas.

Like his mentor Hrabanus, who wrote his signature work *In honorem*

sanctae crucis in both poetry and prose, Candidus's *Vita* of the revered Eigil is an *opus geminatum*, a "twin work" of mixed genres: book 1 is written in prose and book 2 is composed in verse.²³ In the same cultural vein as Hrabanus, Candidus was an artist, who experimented in visual media, as the sacred biography of Eigil is an early example of an illuminated saint's life.²⁴ As a testimony to Hrabanus's influence over his own work, Candidus's prologue to the prose *Vita* recounts to a fellow "co-worker in Christ," Modestus, how a testy Hrabanus once nagged the younger, despondent man, who was complaining of being lonely and isolated from his colleagues, to get back to work: "He used to say, 'Keep at it! Apply yourself to some sort of useful art by reading and by dictating. For while I was in that very place where you now are tarrying, for the length of time I remained there, I began a book of both prose and verse in praise of the Holy Cross, and, being inspired by divine grace, I eventually completed this tome intended for reading by the faithful by means of zealous labor.'"²⁵ Candidus then confides to the imagined reader, represented here as the monk Modestus, that Hrabanus's prompting led him to plow through two books concerning the life of Abbot Eigil as literary offerings to God.²⁶ Candidus adds that he bound the twin *vitae* together in the same volume so that the contents of the one *Life* would aid the reader in the understanding of the other.²⁷

Hrabanus's celebrated piece *In honorem sanctae crucis*, with its prose crib sheet for the text's complex meter, influences the art of hagiography in the ninth century, as poetry serves to allegorize the narrative structures of the prose *Life* and prose functions to anchor poetic meaning to a concrete reality. A phrase repeated by Candidus in the prose *Vita* underscores the theme of the work as a whole. The Fulda monks, he notes, exist as *cor unum et anima una* ("one heart, one soul"), a portrayal Candidus lifts from the New Testament's description of the corporate body of the apostolic community at Jerusalem (Acts 4.32).²⁸ *Cor unum, et anima una* also echoes the motto of Carolingian monastic reform: *una regula, una consuetudo*. Candidus continues the theme of the corporate body of the monks of Fulda into his discussion of the built environment of the Michael Rotunda, an edifice in which one pillar positioned in the middle of the crypt holds up the intricate vaulting of the entire substructure (Figure 5.6).²⁹

In fact, *spolia* from the eighth-century Sturm basilica in the form of an Ionic capital crown the crypt's singular column, a material testimony to the ninth-century community's commitment to their spiritual roots (Figure 5.7).³⁰ In all, the *Life of Eigil* and the Michael crypt illustrate the ways in



Figure 5.6. Interior of the crypt, Michael Rotunda (ca. 822), Fulda, Germany. Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.



Figure 5.7. Eighth-century Ionic capital, crypt, Michael Rotunda, Fulda. Photograph courtesy of Kim Sexton.

which poetry and prose, material and textual artifacts, and exegesis and architectonics come together to produce gendered meaning at the Salvator complex in Fulda.

In the prose *Vita*, Candidus is precise about the architectural form and ritual use of the Michael Rotunda located to the north of the Salvator basilica: “With the advice and consent of the brothers, [Eigil] built a little round church where the dead bodies of the monks—having been handed over for burial—rest. This church is called a cemetery after the Greek (*koimētērion*) but interpreted in Latin as a sleeping space (*dormitorium*).”³¹ In a moving passage of the prose *Life*, Candidus describes how a dying Eigil asks to be carried to the cemetery church, where he takes a spade (*sarculum*) in hand and pierces the earth at the eastern end of the crypt and begins to dig, thereby designating the spot where his body would rest for eternity.³² Moreover, Eigil prepares a sarcophagus for himself with explicit instructions to his flock that he be entombed there after his death. After Eigil’s death, the community buries him in the sepulchre that the abbot himself had designed.³³ The verse *Vita* adds that Hrabanus composed a funerary epitaph for his sage mentor

and “sweet friend,” whose body lies in the tomb but whose spirit abides among the stars.³⁴

Fulda’s cemetery church dedicated to Christ and the archangel Michael has been the subject of scholarship in the fields of archaeology, architectural history, and the history of the collective memory of the abbey.³⁵ Based on an analysis of the extant structure as well as Candidus’s discussion of the condition of the ninth-century rotunda, the spatial arrangements of the funerary edifice can be summarized as follows. The structure has three spatial zones: a subterranean crypt crowned by a central-plan ambulatory church at ground level, illuminated by a clerestory above (perhaps, as the early Romanesque restructuring of the building obscures the design of the Carolingian original). The crypt level is characterized by a massive annular barrel vault held aloft by a single centrally located column with an eighth-century attempt at the volutes of an Ionic capital.³⁶ In the church above, an inner ring of eight columns defines the circumambulation space of the edifice.³⁷ Opposite the entrance an apse protrudes on the east, subtly inscribing a sacred axis into the round building. As analogues for the human body, the columns in the ambulatory church mirror the habitual practices of the monks: circumambulating, bowing, and meditating.³⁸

In the prose and verse versions of the *Life of Eigil*, Candidus points out that the eight columns culminate at their height into one stone (*in summitate operis lapide concluditur uno*), an architectural feature highlighting the hagiographer’s theme of the corporate body of the Fulda monks.³⁹ Hrabanus’s *tituli* for the Michael Rotunda affirm that there were originally three altars in the cemetery church (presumably at the ground level): a central sacrificial table flanked by right and left altars.⁴⁰ Romanesque frescoes of angelic creatures adorning the eastern apse wall can still be seen. Tourist brochures now advertise the fact that Eigil is buried underneath the altar at crypt level.

The ambulatory church with its central altar shares a building typology with the great funerary, circular mausoleums of late ancient Rome, such as the mid-fourth-century Sta Costanza or the fifth-century Saint Stephen Rotunda, or Christ’s own fourth-century rotunda sepulchre in Jerusalem.⁴¹ Additionally, the crypt, as its subterranean design makes clear, is a material testimony to the abbey’s desire to transport the power of the Roman catacombs to the monastery. In both his prose and verse *vitae* of Eigil, Candidus describes how Bishop Haistulf of Mainz traveled across Thuringia to oversee the consecration of the Fulda rotunda, which he terms a sacred temple (*templum*), and to see its collections of holy relics (the Savior, the archangel Mi-

chael, a chunk of Mount Sinai, and the remains of confessors, martyrs, and monks).⁴² Thus the building encapsulates the history of the faith, from its Hebrew origins to the Frankish present day, an architectonic maneuver indicative of the Carolingian love of bricolage. Candidus relates that Magister Hrabanus cataloged and commemorated the rotunda's relic collection in both prose and verse, even jotting down the names of the holy women and men as well as the dates in which their relics were enshrined in the round church.⁴³

Overall, the site of the Michael Rotunda is marked by a progression of three spatial zones: from the dark, squat crypt level (a feminine space) to the opening up of the space in the ground-level ambulatory with its invocation of eternity through repetitions of columns and bays, culminating in the light and airy clerestory zone (a masculine tier). The three zones exist as a metaphor for the soul's ascent from its earthborn exile (the level of Eigil's tomb) to its fiery transformation as it moves toward the heavens (the progression of space moving upward to the gallery). This sort of spiritual reading of the interior spaces of the Michael Rotunda is in keeping with Candidus's textual treatment, where the hagiographer seeks both to allegorize the meaning of the round church and to situate its construction within the larger narrative of the monks' struggle against Abbot Ratgar and their subsequent anxieties about the fragmentation and eventual resurrection of the corporate body of the Benedictine community. In fact, Candidus is remarkably straightforward concerning the allegorical meaning of the space. The round church's structure, he says, foreshadows the salvation offered through faith in Christ, and its circular shape evokes the very nature of heavenly eternity.⁴⁴ The circular crypt, bound by no terminus, has more to do with the interior life than it does with its abbreviated, earthly version. The structure is a fitting signifier for the future life of rewards given to the just.⁴⁵

In his *Vita*, Candidus continues his gloss on the Michael Rotunda by comparing the edifice with Christ's body and its oral pedagogies. In turn, the rotunda's building materials (masonry) function as tropes for the bodies of the monks themselves.⁴⁶ Additionally, Candidus's description of the round church indicates that he, and probably the entire community as well, views the structure as an architectural mnemonic—a series of visual cues used to prompt memories of biblical truths and scriptural instruction.⁴⁷ Medieval monks looked to mental images of buildings in which to insert and hence memorize the various sections of a public *lectio* or even private meditations on scripture. They also used structures, such as basilicas or the foursquare space of a cloister, to prompt scriptural memories.⁴⁸ Candidus's sacred biog-

raphy of Eigil provides a rare glimpse into the early medieval art of memory within a precise architectural setting: the Michael Rotunda. In Candidus's text, the Michael Rotunda serves as a pedagogical device both for the community of monks and for high-ranking guests because architectural structures, including the repetition of columns in the Michael Rotunda, were sites for memory reservoirs. By the same token, the ability to decipher the scriptural meanings embodied in a particular monastic building speaks to a guest's or monk's *paideia*, that is, his intellectual command over scriptural and classical education, visual cultures, and eloquence in speech.⁴⁹

In his exploration of how sacred architecture functions as a prompt for memory, Candidus recalls that during the consecration ceremony of the Michael Rotunda, Eigil and Hrabanus hosted a lively colloquium on the hidden value of the edifice, which was peopled by a host of learned biblical scholars.⁵⁰ Hrabanus and Eigil tutor the crowd of monks and visiting dignitaries that each of the eight columns of the ambulatory church stands for one of the eight Beatitudes preached by Jesus in the gospel of Matthew (5.1–12), the number eight being symbolic of regeneration and initiation (hence its use in baptisteries and mausoleums). Therefore the columns personify the virtuous qualities of the faith that should be practiced by monks: poverty in spirit, mourning, meekness, righteousness, mercy, purity of heart, peacemaking, and martyrdom. Hrabanus's famous acrostic poem *In Honor of the Holy Cross* similarly uses Christ's Beatitudes as media for visual exegesis: the artist inscribes all eight of them within octagonal shapes (Figure 5.8).⁵¹ From the Beatitudes as embodied by Fulda's funerary columns (or Hrabanus's acrostic *figurae*), the *magistri* move on to theorize how the teachings of the apostle Paul are also embedded in the built environment of the Michael Rotunda. The writings of Paul, especially 1 Corinthians's image of the apostle as "a wise master builder" (3.10–17), are the cornerstones upon which the biblical *memoria* systems of the early medieval monastery stand.

The theme of Paul as "master builder" appears in Candidus's account of Eigil and Hrabanus's public dispute about the exegetical import of the Michael Rotunda. Thus, this passage invites the modern-day scholar to peer into the lost world of early medieval architectural mnemonics at work within a specific pedagogical setting. Hrabanus and Eigil lead their audience through the architectural memory systems of the New Testament. They begin their public *lectio* by invoking Paul as a "vessel of election" (*vas electionis*) called by the Lord (Acts 9.15). Moreover, the Fulda scholars cite the key passage of Christian memory work, 1 Corinthians 3, reminding their hearers that their

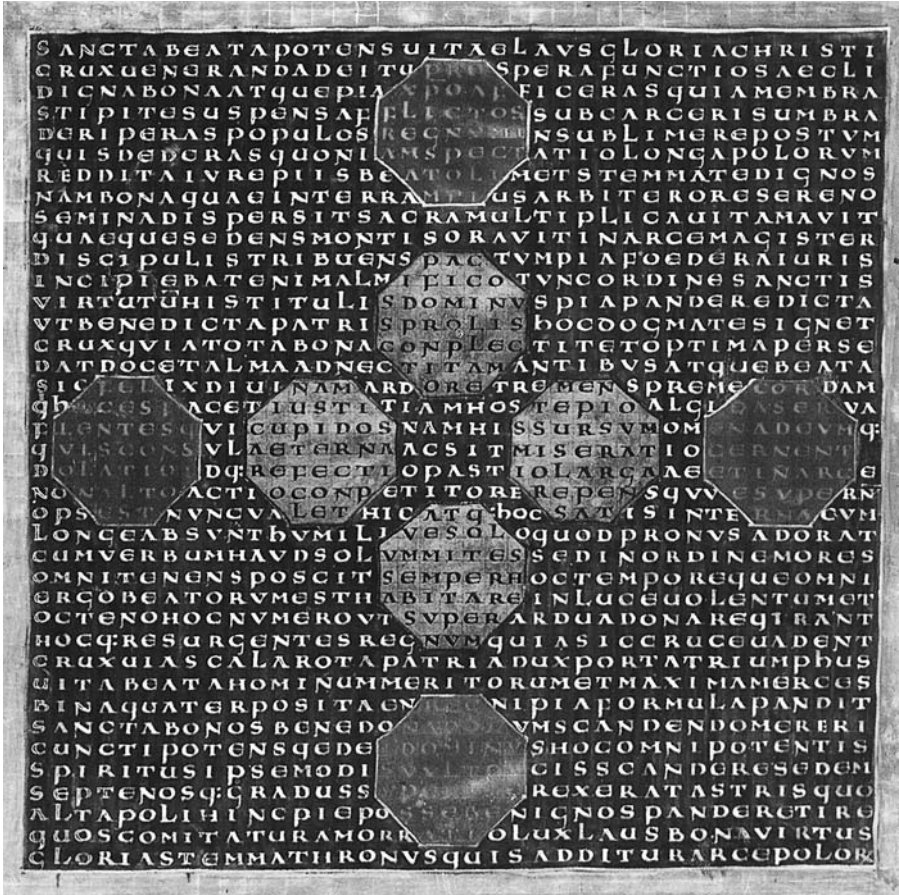


Figure 5.8. Beatitudes inscribed in eight octagonal shapes. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, MS Reg., lat. 124, fol. 24v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

bodies are the Lord's holy temple, an instruction designed to connect the body of the spectator of the Michael Rotunda with the "body" of the round church itself.

Hrabanus and Eigil then point to other scriptural teachings linking the bodies of votaries with the corporate body of the church: "Concerning Christ's church," they urge their hearers, "it is the case that the *ecclesia* is joined together from living stones, that is from [the bodies] of holy men, since it should be the dwelling place of God."⁵² The Fulda sages refer to the

entire edifice as a holy temple (*sacrum templum*), a key term in monastic mnemonics, one designed to evoke the memory—and virtual presence—of the Hebrew tabernacle, Ezekiel’s mystical *templum*, and Christ’s body as temple all within the holy precincts of a Carolingian monastery.⁵³ Fulda’s intellectuals liken the Michael Rotunda to the description of esoteric building in 1 Peter 2.5 (itself built on key sections of Hebrew scripture): “Like living stones, let yourselves be built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.”

In their public *lectio* on the Michael Rotunda, Hrabanus and Eigil ask the monks of Fulda to ponder how their own bodies relate to the fabric of the spaces in which they move. Clearly, Carolingian monks associate body with sacred building and building with holy body. As Hrabanus Maurus exemplifies in his other writings, the liturgy celebrated in a Christian sacred space finds its occult parallel in the pure innards of the bodies of Christ’s perfected men.⁵⁴ Moreover, the invocation of 1 Peter 2.5 would prompt memories of other biblical building narratives (Isaiah 28.16, Psalm 118.22, Exodus 19.6), texts that demonstrate how the Crucified One is ensconced in the monks’ funerary church as a salvific cornerstone, and how the bodies of the monks, imagined as “living stones,” are piled up on top of their deity. The passage (1 Peter 2.7) states explicitly that the formerly reviled body of Christ is now “the very head of the corner” of a new spiritual architecture. The Michael Rotunda is a witness to the unfolding of an entire memory chain, where historical edifice (temple), Savior body (Christ), ascetic body (monk), and even the bodies of visiting pilgrims (spectators) all come together and work to produce the meaning of the space.

Thus the Michael Rotunda has diverse interpretations: historical (as a commemorative space), moralizing (the ambulatory church’s embodiment of the eight Beatitudes), exegetical (memory prompts for Hebrew and Christian scripture), and apocalyptic (encoded messages concerning crucifixion, resurrection, and eternity).⁵⁵ The edifice’s dedication to Christ and the archangel Michael intensifies the eschatological reading of the building, for Revelation features both the Savior and the general of the heavens as heralds of the end-time, when the Son of Man returns with a sharp, two-edged sword of judgment protruding from his mouth, and the bellicose angel throws down Satan—and his minions—into the abyss of hell (Revelation 1.16, 12.9, 20.3). For early medieval Christians, Michael is a psychopomp, the “carrier of souls” into the next world.⁵⁶ In addition to being an eschatological building, the Michael Rotunda is also a pedagogical structure, offering Fulda’s spiritual

sages a theater onto which to display their classical and biblical knowledge and to do so as a demonstration of the abbey's *paideia*. Finally, Candidus's verbal description of the space preserves Fulda's predilection for foursquare allegory, since Eigil's hagiographer observes that the eight Beatitudes, conveniently joined together in the rotunda church, fill its interior and nourish those dwelling there with Jesus' four-times-two teaching.⁵⁷

The theme of the salvific round church as built upon the foundations of the "head" of the Crucified One and the bodies of monks represents the denouement of the *Life of Eigil*. Candidus's pedagogical treatment of the rotunda church looks backward to the *Vita*'s previous sections, where Abbot Ratgar's tyrannical rule fractures the corporate body of the Fulda monks. Simultaneously, it looks forward to the establishment of perpetual fraternal concord: a shared cemetery space, where, in theory, abbot and monks would lie down side by side until the Son of Man and Michael summon their bodies to heaven (though it may well be the case that the monks were meant to occupy the exterior graveyard while the Fulda leadership or other prestigious individuals would be interred in the interior crypt).⁵⁸

The motif of fragmentation and redemption also links the Michael Rotunda's architectonics to the narrative structures of the prose and verse *vitae* penned by Brun Candidus, and it does so through discourses of monastic gender.⁵⁹ Candidus's prose *Life of Eigil* is well known to historians for its depiction of the turbulent monastic strike against Fulda's third abbot, Ratgar. The *Vita* is similarly famous among architectural historians because of its thorough rendering (at least by the standards of the day) of Fulda's building projects.⁶⁰ The focus in this chapter on the gendered meaning of Brun Candidus's *Vita Eigilis* adds a new dimension to existing work on the hagiographical text. Extraordinarily, Candidus's *Vita* reveals the self-critique of an embattled community of monks, standing back from a distance of over twenty years from the events described and yet clearly still reeling from them. The saint's life is a brilliant example of the Benedictine Rule gone horribly wrong and the effects of misadventure on the corporate body of the monks. Thus the *Life of Eigil* functions as a disciplinary strategy for subsequent generations of Fulda's holy men, the target audience of this house hagiography, who are warned off the destructive legacy of the preceding generation.

The sacred biography of Fulda's fourth abbot is actually more about Eigil's predecessor, Ratgar, the litigious *caput* who defiled the monastic *membra* under his charge, and less about its purported subject saint. Ratgar continues to haunt the passages of the *Life of Eigil*, even after his banishment

from the abbey, which occurs early on in the narrative. In contrast, the sage Eigil frequently disappears from his own hagiography, only to reemerge here and there, when the author needs him to counterbalance the domineering presence of Ratgar or to mend the broken corporate body of the monastery. Sensitive to the potential flaws of his literary endeavor, Candidus defends his invective against the former spiritual leader of Fulda by assuring his reader, the monk Modestus, that so frequent a mention of the turmoil sparked by Ratgar is more than mere artifice.⁶¹ Although Ratgar is not named in these final sections of the prose *Vita*, it is quite clear that his person and his rule over Fulda are in the back of Candidus's mind.

For Eigil's sacred biographer, the story of wayward Fulda is part of a larger biblical narrative of good church leaders gone bad: Peter's three denials of Christ, which are commemorated in the early medieval liturgy and function as a public stage for rebuking the apostle, and Paul's vigorous persecution of the early church.⁶² Both apostles were redeemed through acts of contrition and repentance, and thus there may be a chance for the humbled Fulda leadership. Clearly, the hagiographer is somewhat uncomfortable in his role as Ratgar's public censor, as the former abbot had been the spiritual custodian of a premier monastery in the Carolingian east, a theory made more plausible by the fact that Candidus glosses over Abbot Baugulf's departure from the abbey in 802.⁶³

Intriguingly, Candidus adds a complex exegetical gloss on Ratgar and Fulda's very public squabbles (though he does not refer to Ratgar by name). Near the end of the *Vita* the hagiographer summons up the example of Lot's wife (probably as a substitute for Ratgar), who flees the depraved city destroyed by God's wrath only to turn around and gaze in its perverse direction, thereby miraculously metamorphosing into a statue of salt (*statua salis*). Candidus explains the beneficial effects of this monstrous transformation. Salt, he reckons, is a seasoning of faith sprinkled on top of the poor woman's stiff body—it is curative and instructive to the victim.⁶⁴ Salt is, as Christian scripture clarifies, a metaphor of faith, wisdom, sacrifice (as fired salt was used in ancient Hebrew sacrifice), and salvation: "For everyone will be salted with fire. Salt is good; but if salt has lost its saltiness, how can you season it? Have salt in yourselves and be at peace with one another" (Mark 9.49–50). The sapiential qualities of salt were well known among both Hebrew and Christian exegetical circles, even to the point where Jewish writers compare the Torah to salt or a lack of wisdom as being the same as being unseasoned.⁶⁵

The subtext of this passage from Mark—those without “salt” (in other words, “faith”) will be contentious—works well within the context of the conflict sparked by Ratgar’s tenure as abbot. In a sense, the abbot and the Fulda monks are being “re-seasoned.” Moreover, the figure of Lot’s wife undoubtedly would call to the audience’s mind both the above passage from Mark as well as Jesus’ teaching in Luke 17.32: “Remember Lot’s wife. Those who try to make their life secure will lose it, but those who lose their life will keep it.”⁶⁶ Additionally, the body of Lot’s wife is “a pillar of salt standing as a monument to an unbelieving soul” (Wisdom of Solomon 10.7). It is a grim verdict indeed on Ratgar’s reign. Overall, the image of the ex-abbot as Lot’s wife leaves the audience of the *Vita* with the unusual impression that Fulda under the errant Ratgar was like the biblical Sodom before its annihilation—a city in which individual desires led to collective doom.

Not content to end with the sketch of Lot’s wife, however, Candidus looks hopefully to the ex-abbot’s future redemption like that of premier churchmen Paul and Peter. After all, he argues, manure (*stercus*) spread around an infertile tree is known to produce fruit. By implication, Ratgar is like an arbor made unfruitful through spiritual negligence, but once he meditates on his own sins, God’s mandates will encircle the exiled abbot like manure and “grow” him into eternal salvation.⁶⁷ Therefore, Ratgar is an apostate and barren object onto which spiritually enriching substances—salvific salt and the lush manure of Christ’s mandates—are poured. There is an obvious agenda here: Candidus commemorates Ratgar in Eigil’s *Vita* in a way that is both negative and positive, rending his overall treatment more ambiguous in the minds of his audiences. Ratgar is a disaster as abbot, but, as an individual Christian, he is not beyond redemption and nor is the abbey.

Ratgar’s infamy casts a long shadow over the Fulda community, however. In the hagiographical portrait of Eigil lingering on his deathbed and confessing hidden sins to his mourning flock, Candidus tallies the monks’ own anxieties over the impending loss of their wise *caput*. The brothers worry that when their “own mother” (*propria mater*) passes on, she will soon be replaced by a strange—and hence dangerous—stepmother (*noverca*) or that a stepfather (*vitricus*) will be introduced into the family after the real one is snatched away. Moreover, Candidus equates the abbey with the biblical infant threatened by two quarreling prostitutes, both of whom claim rights to the live baby in front of the judicious King Solomon. Solomon feigns that he is about to cut the baby in half, when the real mother reveals herself by thwarting his cruel action (1 Kings 3.16–28).

Candidus's evocation of Solomon (undoubtedly a stand-in for Eigil) is clearly designed to bring up memories of the skirmishing that took place among the rival factions of the Fulda monks before the election of the sagacious Eigil in 818: young and old, junior and senior, noble and non noble, eloquent and rustic.⁶⁸ Like Solomon, Eigil preserves an intact body, this time that of the monastery, assimilated here to the innocent flesh of an infant about to be torn apart by pitiless hands.⁶⁹ Equally, the contentious Fulda monks transmute ominously into the confrontational whores of Hebrew scripture: one faction being compared with the treachery and self-interest of the false mother (so, not unlike the menacing stepmother mentioned in the same passage of the *Vita*); the other with the real—yet sexually tarnished—mother who works for the welfare of her child's body. It is, of course, an unexpected and intriguing image of a monastic community in conflict recast at the level of biblical exegesis and exhibiting surprising gendered subtexts: Ratgar (implied) as Lot's wife fleeing a smoldering Sodom, disorderly Fulda as the dissolute biblical city, its factionalized monks as Hebrew harlots, and the monastery itself as an infant's body endangered by agonizing fracturing. Yet the hagiographer consistently stands back from these unappealing images of the Fulda abbey to dangle the hope of redemption—and reunification—of the monastic body. Equally, he justifies his role as Fulda's public censor by layering his account of the abbey's troubles with the woes experienced by biblical prototypes.

These provocative images of a community at war with itself are foreshadowed in the earlier passages of the *Vita*. In a calculated move, the hagiographer creates disparate images of the two abbots Ratgar and Eigil. Eigil embodies the precious boy oblate, the high-price commodity of a Carolingian monastery. As oblate to Fulda and kinsman of its founder, Sturm, the young Eigil is a perfect advertisement of the monastery's *schola*. Candidus tells us that the child entered the Fulda school "where with the application of the yoke of divine law is both learned and taught with the utmost industry."⁷⁰ As an eager student, a ravenous Eigil consumes Holy Scripture in the same manner a bee hungrily collects pollen from flowers.⁷¹ As a youth, Eigil preserves within himself "a remembrance of God's righteousness," which the Deity personally had taught to the young ascetic with an eye toward the monk's future work as a prophet of divine miracles. As such, Eigil is Sturm's darling (*carus*) and the precious jewel of the entire congregation.⁷²

As a grown man, Eigil is venerable (*vir venerabilis*), a senior statesman (*senex pater*), stable (*constans*), and the possessor of a weighty aspect (*vir scili-*

cet et maturae aetatis et gravis aspectu). As a monk suffering under Ratgar's tyranny, Eigil is like an early Christian martyr victimized by the Roman state, for Candidus stresses that the saint was fleeing Ratgar as from a persecutor.⁷³ Eigil's election as abbot is largely the work of the senior-ranked monks of Fulda, who trump their vacillating and murmuring compatriots and forge an alliance with the various sectors of the monastery.⁷⁴ As abbot, Eigil is mild (*mitis*) yet unafraid to use the full discipline of the Rule against the undisciplined. He is a steadfast resistor of "vain speech." He encapsulates the classicizing virtue of *constantia*: "self-mastery." He is Noah to Fulda's ark, a salvific leader who takes his flock out of harm's way.⁷⁵ In short, Eigil embodies and displays the virtues of the Rule within his person and his deeds.

In contrast to the image of Eigil as industrious bee sucking nectar from the blossoms of Holy Scripture, Ratgar is a menacing lion, who impoverishes a monastery's domestics and oppresses those under his charge. He is a raging unicorn, a symbol of unmanageable pride.⁷⁶ Ratgar is also the devil, described in 1 Peter (5.8) as a roaring lion who circles and circles his prey, determining whom he should devour.⁷⁷ And like a predator, he picks off first the defenseless and weak: the very old and the sick (*senes atque decrepiti*), whom he exiled from the motherhouse.⁷⁸ The beleaguered Ratgar is also an "indiscriminate pastor" (*indiscretus pastor*), a quarrelsome abbot (*abbas litigiosus*), who plagues the minds and bodies of his monks.⁷⁹ Ratgar squanders a landslide election to lapse into the discord to rival all discords. In fact, the effect is so immediate that the hagiographer goes from harmony of a miraculous quality ("mira concordia") in one sentence to the precipitous collapse of that accord in the next ("discordiam").⁸⁰ The abbey's discord is so boisterous that even Louis the Pious would later characterize it as the talk of his empire. Speaking directly to the Fulda monks circa 818 at Aachen, Louis makes plain the celebrity of their conflict: "You, therefore, O fathers, brothers, and my most beloved sons—you know, and I also know, and nearly all my kingdom knows how many dangers engulfed every one of you from the time of my father Charles of blessed memory up until this present-day."⁸¹ Louis's statement is an amazing, public castigation of wayward behavior at Fulda, memorialized in the monastery's house hagiography of its third abbot, Eigil.

Candidus paints a picture of the notorious *discordia* at Fulda with body metaphors consistent with the corporate system of the Rule: it is the wayward head (Ratgar/*caput*) against the other vacillating body parts (monks/*membra*).⁸² If Ratgar cannot govern his own body, Candidus queries, how can he rule over others? The theme of an inability to command the body as symp-

tomatic of a failure to exercise power over a people is a common one in Carolingian literature and based on classical political theory. For example, the court biographer of Louis the Pious, the so-called Astronomer, is quite frank about the corporate meaning of the monarch's body. The *corpus* of a king relates directly to the health of the empire and thus a king's body must be ministered to and made whole by the physicians of "counsel" and "fortitude."⁸³ In the *Life of Eigil*, the theme of the corporate body guides the audience through the breaking apart of the body politic of Fulda to the redemption of the community under Eigil. The hagiographer then projects that redemption onto the monastery's famous building projects, including an edifice that merges the present life with the next, the Michael Rotunda.

The effects of *discordia* on the monastic body are vivid and in keeping with classical and early medieval medical views on the interrelationship between the inner and outer man. For example, Gregory the Great cautions the readers of his influential *Pastoral Rule* (ca. 591) that even minor sins can explode on the skin's surface like pustules. Major depravities, the pope argues, cause the body's internal fluids to rush to the genitals, producing an irksome and shameful swelling, an exterior manifestation of interior desires.⁸⁴ In this figurative scheme, the exterior of the body serves as a litmus test for the spiritual status of the interior. Gregory's writings on sin as bodily tumor or involuntary swelling appear a number of times in Candidus's *Vita*, a text that frames a series of public forums on the meaning of the cloistered life with the pope's own teachings on the inner and outer man drawn from the *Pastoral Rule*.⁸⁵

For instance, in the longest sustained monologue in the prose *Vita* (9–10), that of Louis the Pious's public forum on the Benedictine life held at Aachen circa 818, the emperor uses the language of the Rule coupled with Gregory the Great's instruction on priestly bodies to warn Fulda's monks against future corporeal eruptions. Harmony, the emperor instructs, is a prophylactic against the swellings of carnal vice. In a graphic statement, Louis compares schisms brought about by evil thoughts fueled through wrath to bodily explosions. This corporeal spurting, he adds, is like water erupting from a fountain and foaming forth (*dispumo*) on account of carnal pleasures.⁸⁶ The subtext of this passage is clearly Gregorian; it is also quite sexual in nature. Additionally, the Frankish emperor delves into biblical exegesis, giving a mini-lecture on biblical boils (itself based on Gregory's *Pastoral Rule*). The emperor's invective clearly is aimed at Fulda's ex-abbot Ratgar: bodily tumors surface when a church leader exalts himself over his congrega-

tion or is excessively harsh and tyrannical (Sirach 32.1; Ezekiel 34.4).⁸⁷ Louis glosses his rebuke of Ratgar (and any other contentious monk) with the apostle Paul's teachings on how the sexually immoral or the avaricious should be expelled from the corporate body of the *ekklesia* until they are healed of their contagious disease (1 Corinthians 5.13).⁸⁸ After Louis's extensive discourse, the monks quite naturally elect the venerable Eigil "with one mouth" (*uno ore*).⁸⁹

Candidus's account of the extended lectures on the Rule is designed as both cautionary tale (to fend off subsequent fractures of the body politic) and political maneuver (to intensify the chastisement of Ratgar—and monks who sided with him—through the authoritative presence of Louis). Louis's sermon to the monks is a key feature of the text, though these sections have received less attention from scholars than has the narrative of the abbey's building project. Its importance to the overall narrative structure of the *Vita* is evidenced by Candidus's anxiety over not having done justice to the emperor's lofty language, a worry the hagiographer expresses to Modestus in the prologue to the prose *Vita*.⁹⁰ In these long sections of the *Life* (occupying almost a third of the narrative), the emperor takes on the office of the "real" abbot and father of the Fulda flock in contrast to its false and vacillating stepmother, Ratgar.⁹¹ In fact, Louis's aid to the troubled community assumes a miraculous form, and his panoptic gaze extends into the sacred spaces of Fulda itself through the medium of imperial "eyes": that is, the *missi* Aaron and Adalfrid, monks whom the monarch dispatched to monitor the abbey's progress toward reform and the election of a new abbot.⁹²

In Candidus's retelling of the emperor's speech to the Fulda monks, Louis emerges as an expert on the *minima regula* ("the little rule for beginners," RB 73.8), as the emperor defines it. He scolds the monks for their willingness to abandon so readily their vow of *stabilitas loci* to travel to the royal court.⁹³ The emperor acknowledges wistfully that the Rule was indeed crafted especially for them, and that it functions as a mirror of the sort of monks they should strive to be. After all, Louis stresses: "Custodianship of monastic discipline is a perfect kind of love."⁹⁴ The monarch equates the figure of a mutinous cenobite (undoubtedly implying Ratgar or those loyal to him) with an evocation of the Rule's treatment of the loathsome sarabaites or false monk, who loves himself and follows the desires of his heart in lieu of the corporate good. He asks that the monks bring out their chosen abbot, Eigil, so that he might be subject to the royal gaze.⁹⁵ Louis then enjoins the

senex pater to keep the Rule and to make sure those under his charge do so as well.⁹⁶

The story does not end here, however. Louis goes on to criticize the ill effects of Fulda's architectural venture under Ratgar. What modern-day architectural historians have referred to as visionary or revolutionary about Ratgar's redesign of the Salvator transmutes here in into the embodiment of excess (*luxuria*), a chief affliction of the Benedictine corporate body. Louis states this plainly: "The immense edifice, O Abbot, and works that are not necessary by which the congregation of the brothers, both from the external family and the internal one, is fatigued—abandon thoroughly its scale!"⁹⁷ The emperor chides the false piety of Christian builders (another veiled jab at Ratgar), who appear to do good works by constructing *martyria* and by embellishing churches, but in reality brutalize the poor by withdrawing previously charitable hands from sustained acts of almsgiving. Louis advises the monks to recall the defiant biblical duo Ananias and Sapphira—tropes for the loathsome sarabaites in Carolingian monastic commentaries—who hoarded church income for themselves to the detriment of the apostolic body.⁹⁸ The emperor concludes his oration with a gendered invective against future monastic seducers at Fulda. Sycophants (*adulatores*) and detractors (*accusatores*) are both vessels of the intelligent serpent, who enticed Eve to forsake the delights of paradise; therefore, such men may similarly cast a monk into a bestial (and feminine) realm of misery and calamity.⁹⁹

It is not enough for Candidus to reproduce Emperor Louis's sermon against fractures in the ascetic body politic, however. On the return trip from Aachen to Fulda, the monks stop over at Mainz, where they receive a second lecture, this time at the hands of Archbishop Haistulf. Haistulf instructs Eigil as to the sort of abbot he should be (and again, the subtext here is aimed at Ratgar, who did not measure up). The archbishop spells out the requirements for such an office: an abbot should be a father to his children, pious, modest, merciful, and discreet. He should be a reviver of languid monks, benevolent to the weak ones, and a restorer of those who have fallen. Clearly, these qualities are drawn from the Rule itself, now the subject of a bishop's sermon (no doubt embarrassing for the Fulda spiritual leadership).¹⁰⁰ After this second public rebuke, Haistulf offers a lavish repast in his own domicile, a meal more elaborate, Candidus reveals, than is typically eaten in the bishop's house.¹⁰¹ The verse *Vita* adds classical imagery to this banquet, invoking, in the best style of Carolingian bricolage, the feasting gods Bacchus and Ceres, who materialize in the guise of the bishop's servants.¹⁰² Yet, to offset menacing carnality occasioned by the pleasures of eating, bodily food is coupled

with the spiritual nourishment taken from the *lectio* as well as vigorous theological debate. The scene at Mainz culminates in Eigil receiving the personal blessing of Archbishop Haistulf before returning to Fulda.¹⁰³

Upon the monks' return to Fulda, the sermons of the emperor and the bishop metamorphose into the monks' liturgical and spatial practices. As a demonstration of unity, the monks prostrate themselves in front of Eigil's feet in the oratory of the Salvator, and they salute their newly blessed abbot.¹⁰⁴ In turn, Eigil (the new *caput*) kisses each member of his flock (his *membra*). The community then takes up their "ancestral custom," a series of liturgical activities that had been threatened or had ceased altogether during the Ratgar crisis, and launches into the communal singing: "Behold how good and pleasant it is when the brothers live together as one" (Psalm 133.1).¹⁰⁵ Here a scriptural gloss furthers the political subtext of the *Vita*: the corporate body of the Fulda monks has been reestablished through the steady hand of Abbot Eigil. That unity is expressed in the feast days held for the founder Sturm and all of the deceased brothers of the community, a liturgical ritual in which selections from Eigil's own *Vita Sturmi* were to be read aloud but not until all the monks had approved the new measure.¹⁰⁶ Eigil even extends the range of the corporate body of Fulda to the neighboring districts, uniting the bodies of monks serving in the monastery's *cellae* (or satellite houses) to the main abbey by harmonizing their ritual systems with those of the motherhouse. In contrast Ratgar had amputated the old and the sick from the Salvator complex in direct violation of the Rule.¹⁰⁷

In the material realm, the invocation of Psalm 133 (on the brothers living together as one) segues into the purification (*mundo*) and completion of Ratgar's visionary design of the Salvator basilica.¹⁰⁸ Intriguingly, the hagiographer focuses on Eigil's sealing up of the cracks in the unfinished building: filling in the pavement and covering the altars with polished stones.¹⁰⁹ By plugging up the gaps in Fulda's sacred space, Eigil is symbolically mending the fractures in the monastic body politic. The abbot goes on to arrange (*conloco*) "with magnificent craftsmanship" two crypts under the superstructure of the basilica: one subterranean sacred space facing the rising sun and the other positioned toward the setting sun.¹¹⁰ Candidus refers to the entire complex as a *templum*. Thus, one possible theory for the importance of the two crypts within the educational system of the Carolingian monastery is that they evoke the memory of the Hebrew temple, itself divided into eastern and western sections following the sun's course: the *heikhal* (or outer room in the east) and the *devir* (or interior shrine, orientated to the west).¹¹¹

The hagiographer also wants his audience to understand that Eigil's architectural design, which, by the time Candidus had written his *Life* was already a familiar feature among the abbey's next generation of monks, was not at odds with Emperor Louis's long diatribe against excessive building memorialized in Fulda's house hagiography (*Vita Eigilis* 10). The point here is that the measured and discreet Eigil returned to Fulda and quickly terminated the "megalomaniac" Ratgar's architectural project by not extending the scale of the basilica. In fact, Ratgar himself may have inaugurated the building of the crypts.¹¹² Though evidence for the ex-abbot's role in the subterranean section of the Salvator is purely speculative, the scale of Ratgar's reconstruction of the basilica suggests that hall crypts would feasibly have been part of the original design, as they are characteristic of other contemporary monumental sacred edifices. Thus, Eigil may very well have been the terminator of Fulda's hall crypt plan, and not its originator. Moreover, the hagiographer addresses Emperor Louis's anxiety that overly ambitious building projects despoil the poor by underscoring how the entire class structure of the empire (lay/consecrated, patrons/impoverished pilgrims, wealthy/poor) converged on the Salvator as "one" to receive the spiritual benefits of the basilica's dedication ceremony: the invited guests (archbishop, bishops, abbots, priests, counts) and the uninvited (the *vulgus*—that is, pilgrims of the inferior orders).¹¹³ Clearly, the sacred biographer wants his audience to believe that Eigil's architectural enterprise cut through the class divisions of the empire, embracing the patrons of the building and their clients alike.

Unique to Eigil's tenure as abbot, however, are both the construction of the Michael Rotunda (detailed above) and his decision to move the monks' cloister from the south of the basilica, a fairly standard ninth-century spatial arrangement, to a new location in the west.¹¹⁴ A number of historians, including architectural historians, have characterized the massive undertaking of transporting the monks' cloister to the western quadrant of the monastic complex as in keeping with Fulda's desire to "Romanize." By shifting the entire orientation of the Salvator basilica from the east to the west, the Fulda leadership created a Frankish version of Saint Peter's on the Vatican Hill complete with a western elevated tomb for an apostolic martyr, Boniface, who assumes the role of the apostle Peter.

While this reading is a convincing one—indeed, the *Life* concurs with it, stating explicitly that the move to the west is in keeping "with Roman custom" (*Romano more*)—it is equally the case that Eigil's novel venture (*ex novo*) is one of two signature architectural acts designed to revamp the image of building at Fulda as a harmonious and health-bringing activity.¹¹⁵ Eigil

does not impose a cloister design on his monks; rather, he solicits their opinions until a consensus is reached, following the scriptural principle: “Do all things with counsel” (Proverbs 13.16). An essential strategy of Candidus’s *Life of Eigil* is to legitimate subsequent building projects undertaken at Fulda, such as the extravagant expenditure of capital on architecture and the cult of the dead orchestrated by Eigil’s successor, the poet and artist Hrabanus, in the 830s, the decade before the *Vita* of Fulda’s third abbot was completed.

Moving the Fulda monks to the western zone of the monastic precinct also places them squarely under the supernatural supervision of the martyr Boniface, as their bodies now rest near his. Subject to the panoptic gaze of the martyr, the Fulda monks are visibly moored back to the disciplinary culture of the Rule as well as the foundation legend of their own monastery. They have abandoned their historically rebellious position to the south.¹¹⁶ Finally, the shift to the west brings them into the orbit of the setting sun, as Candidus notes in the verse *Vita*, thereby intensifying the symbolic association of the cloister and its priestly inhabitants with the *devir* (the western-orientated “holy of holies” of the Hebrew temple) and its ritually pure priests.¹¹⁷ Thus the sacred biographer of Abbot Eigil successfully wipes away the stain on the community’s reputation after the catastrophic reign of his predecessor. And he does so in a way that legitimizes the very activity for which Emperor Louis had condemned Ratgar: innovative and ambitious artistic ventures. As the above discussion suggests, the gender pyramid produced by Carolingian practices of the Rule—with the emphasis on the corporate ascetic body—plays a decisive role in this public censure and subsequent refashioning of a controversial monastic community.

Women haunt both the interior space of the Corvey westwork and the public censure of Fulda’s ascetic body politic as presented in Candidus’s hagiographical invective against Abbot Ratgar. In fact, both the westwork at Corvey and Candidus’s sacred biography of Abbot Eigil use brutal metamorphoses of female bodies to make a point about ritual and gendered disorder, assaults on the monastic ethos of corporate impenetrability and the inevitable triumph of Christ’s tested warriors. At Corvey, the monstrous figures of the Scylla and the Siren mark off the westwork’s second-floor gallery as a combative, hybrid space, where monastic bodies collide with the bodies of their lay competitors. The westwork is also a place where ascetic males are subject to the perils of the lay gaze, just as the bound figure of Ulysses is open to the life-threatening stare of the ghastly creatures, the Scylla and the Siren. In the *Life of Eigil*, Candidus inscribes Fulda’s political and ritual troubles onto the

biblical figure of the wife of Lot, whose female body gruesomely is transformed into a “statue of salt.” Lot’s wife stands immobile for eternity as “a monument to an unbelieving soul” (Wisdom of Solomon 10.7). The verdict, of course, is really on Ratgar, whose hagiographical portrait consistently feminizes him: the ex-abbot is uncontrolled, excessive, incapable of self-mastery, an incompetent manager of the corporate body, and fractious. Candidus memorializes the ex-abbot for future generations of monks as Fulda’s false step-mother.

The built environment of the Corvey westwork and the public commemoration of Fulda’s troubles also offer their lay and monastic audiences a visual and textual narrative of the victory of the perfected monastic body over competing Dark Age styles. At Corvey, Ulysses thrusts his lance into the mouth of one of the Siren’s yapping dog heads as a proof text of the closing off of the ascetic male body—enshrined and displayed within the charged space of the second-floor gallery—to carnal seductions. At Fulda, Eigil’s novel building projects, the Michael Rotunda and the western cloister, offset the charges of the previous regime’s reckless architectural ventures. Ratgar’s reign had a disastrous effect on male ascetic bodies: Fulda’s excesses exploded on the surface of the corporate body of the abbey and assaulted the self-mastery of its inhabitants through prideful swellings.

At the same time, an architectural structure, the Michael Rotunda, visibly heals the body of the monastery through the medium of the built environment: one column holds up the entire edifice of the cemetery church. And pilgrims of all classes (lay/consecrated; wealthy/impooverished) descend on the abbey as spectators of Fulda’s spiritual remaking under the venerable Eigil, a man imbued with gravitas and consummate self-mastery (*constantia*), qualities uniquely possessed by Carolingian mandarins. The hagiographer makes a political point: sacred building projects supervised by abbots who embody the virtues of the Rule nourish the empire. But only a select few, in this instance, Hrabanus and Eigil, perceive the occult meanings of such spaces, and only they know how monastic structures work to create biblical memory systems.



Plate 1. Hrabanus Maurus as a holocaust sacrifice at the onslaught of the apocalypse. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 35v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



Plate 2. Hrabanus Maurus and his mentor Alcuin present a copy of *In Honor of the Holy Cross* to Saint Martin of Tours. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 2v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

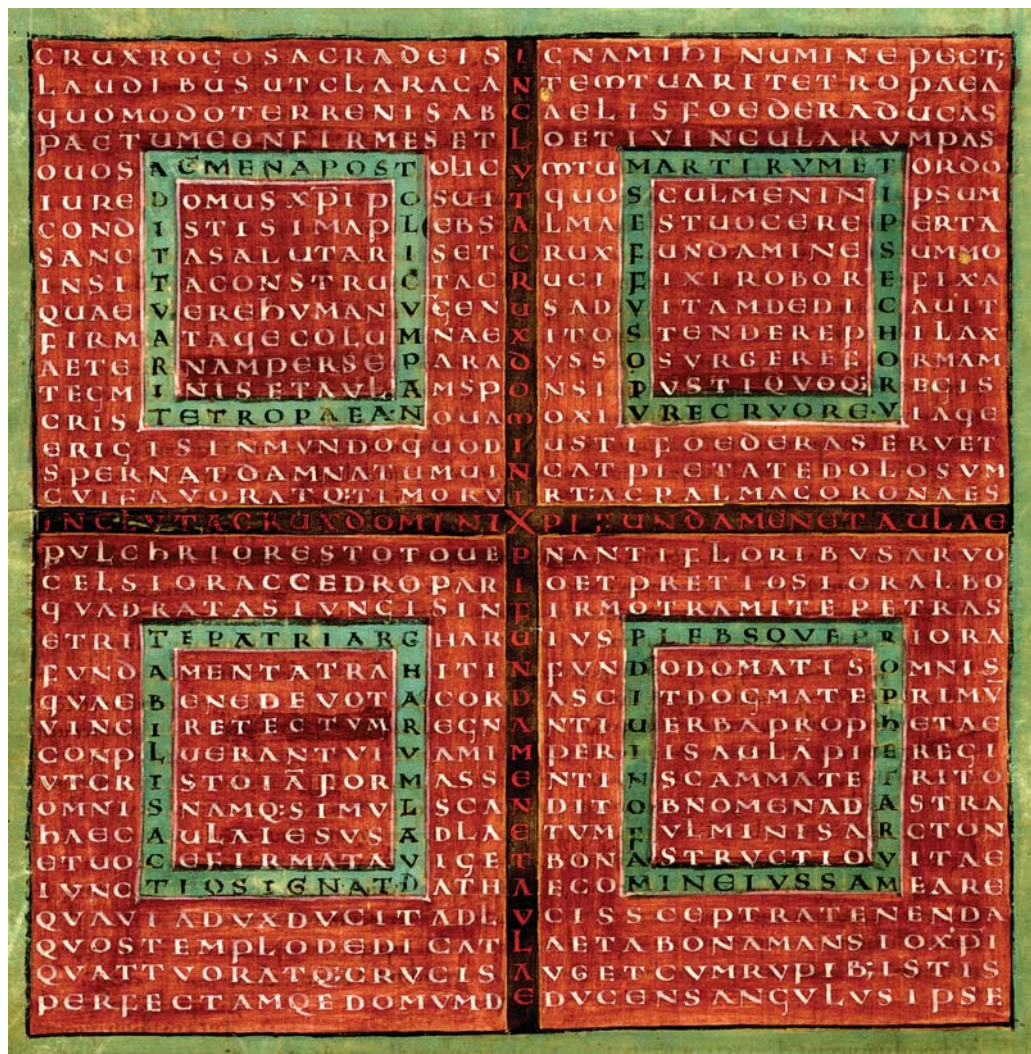


Plate 3. Four squares within four squares; each square contains verses explicating the four ages of the church: patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 12v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



Plate 4. Christ crucified with his body serving as the cross. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 8v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

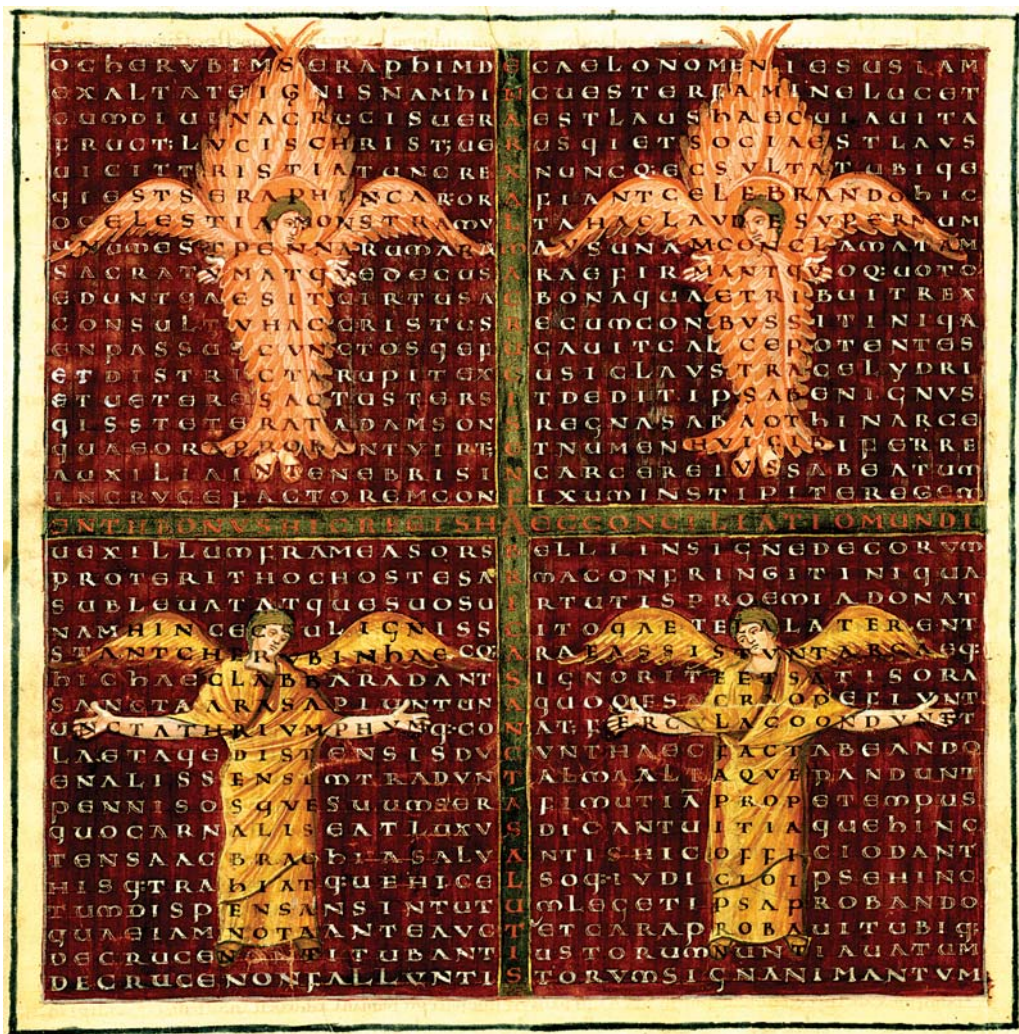


Plate 5. Seraphim and cherubim positioned within the four quadrants formed by the arms of the cross. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 114v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

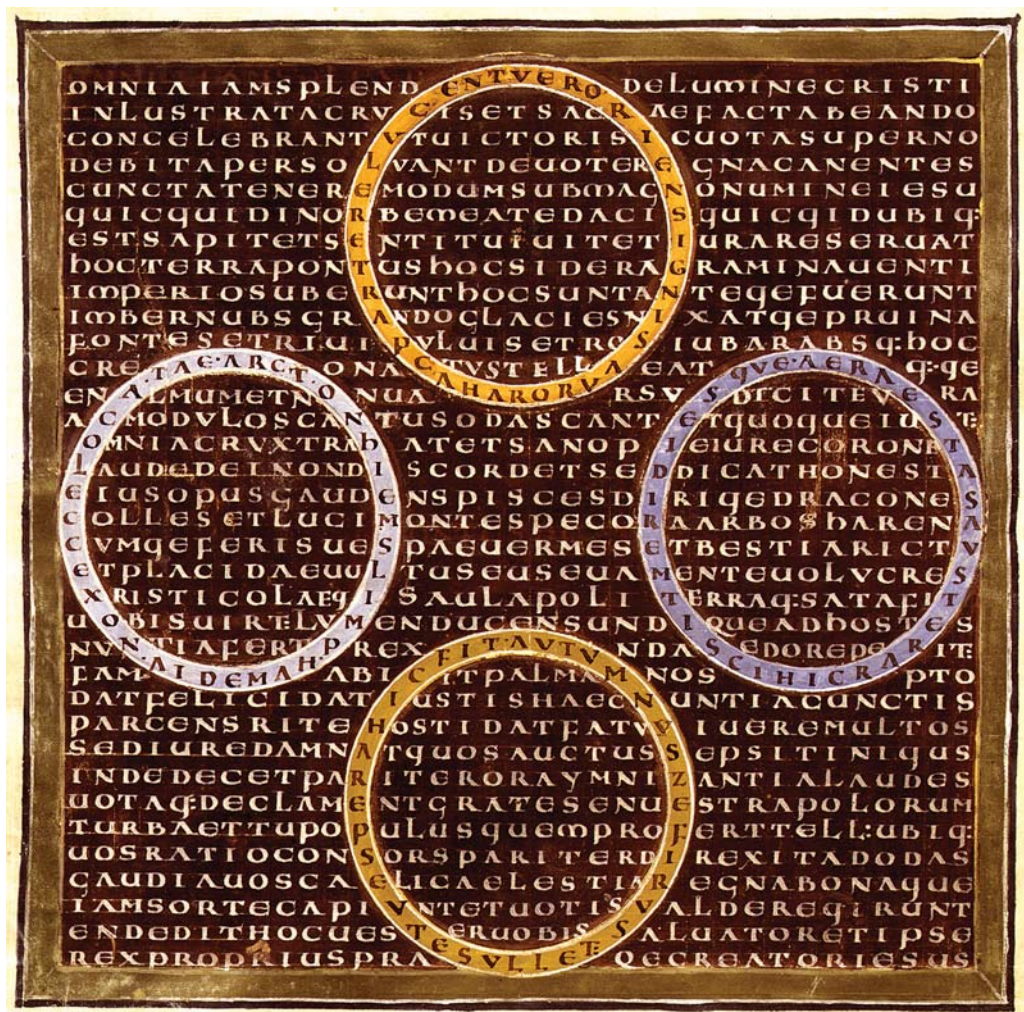


Plate 6. Four circles representing the four elements. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 14v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

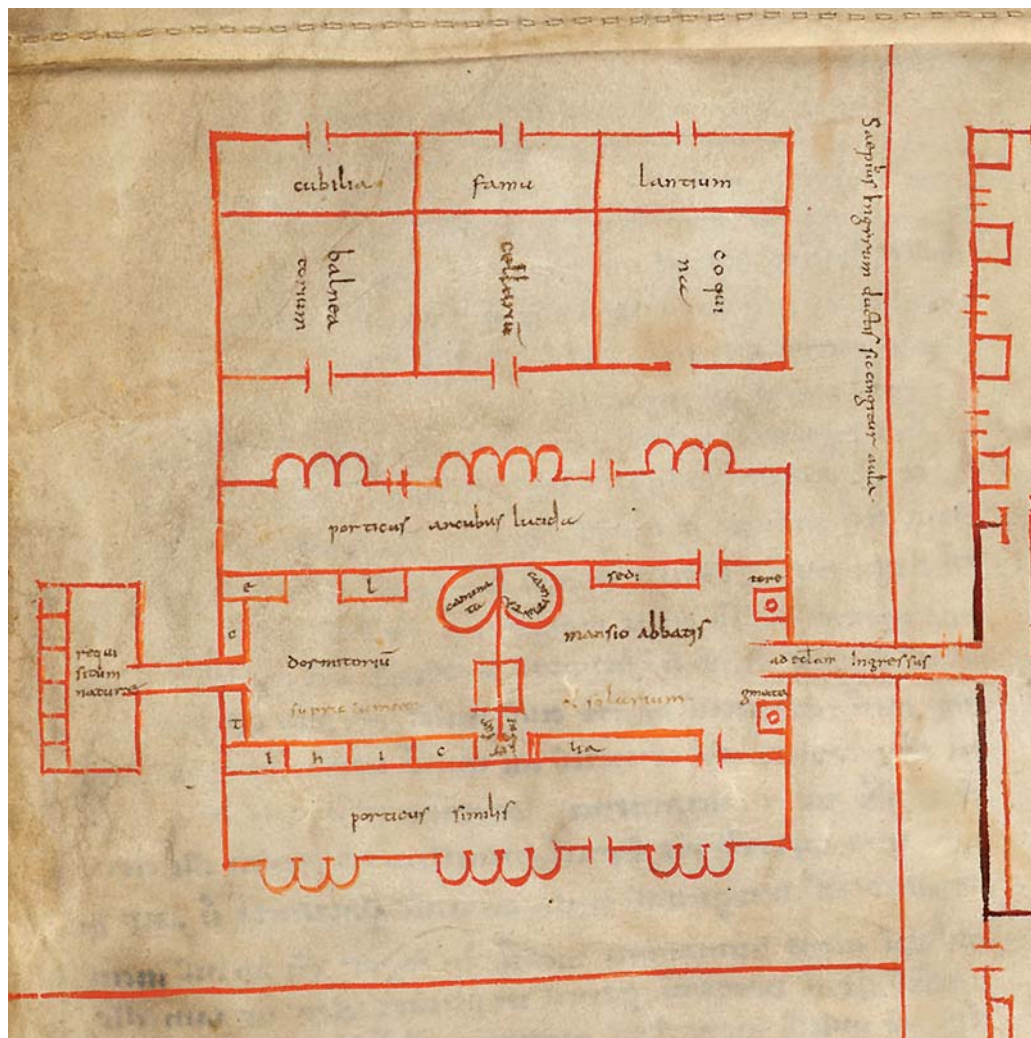


Plate 7. Abbot's house, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The house is divided into two areas, one labeled *mansio abbatis* ("abbot's living quarters") and the other entitled *dormitoriū* ("bedroom") (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:50).



Plate 8. Prefatory cross-carpet page, Lindisfarne Gospels (first quarter of the eighth century). BL, Cotton MS Nero D.iv, fol. 2v, British Library. Courtesy of the British Library.

Chapter 6

Gendering the Plan of Saint Gall

The Corvey westwork and the Michael Rotunda at Fulda provide an excellent context for analyzing the gendered dimensions of another important artifact of the early medieval era, the so-called Plan of Saint Gall (ca. 830). Etched in red lead, the Plan is composed of five sheets of calfskin stitched together to form a rectangle of 30½ by 44 inches (Figure 6.1).¹ The manuscript is a meticulous rendering of a Carolingian monastic complex, including an impressive, double-apsidal basilica (suggestive of Fulda's double-ender), a four-square cloister, a monastic cemetery, an herb garden, an abbot's residence with loggias and a solarium, and guest quarters for elite visitors.

Reminiscent of the rotunda church at Fulda where material structures such as columns were called upon to teach biblical lessons, the Plan of Saint Gall functions as a memory map for scriptural truths. As Mary Carruthers sees it, the Plan is "the earliest surviving instance of an architectural *pictura*, a device of memory work." It is an extraordinary example of a monastic "meditation machine"—a visual mechanism used by monks to "recollect" heaven and to map out the contours of the faith.² The Plan also provides its viewer with a visualization of the Rule itself—thus navigating one's way around the Plan is akin to reading the chapters of Benedict's *Regula*. As Charles McClendon notes, this map is a "veritable lexicon of architectural forms and terminology available to a building patron in the 820s."³ The Plan is equally a political document, one employing the gendered systems produced by Carolingian practices of the Rule to map masculine (monastic) and feminine (lay) spheres within its sacred precincts. The result is a visual trumping of lay authority by practitioners of the Rule.

For Carolingian audiences, the Plan was a virtual pilgrimage map designed to take the viewer on a salvific journey through the faith, from Hebrew

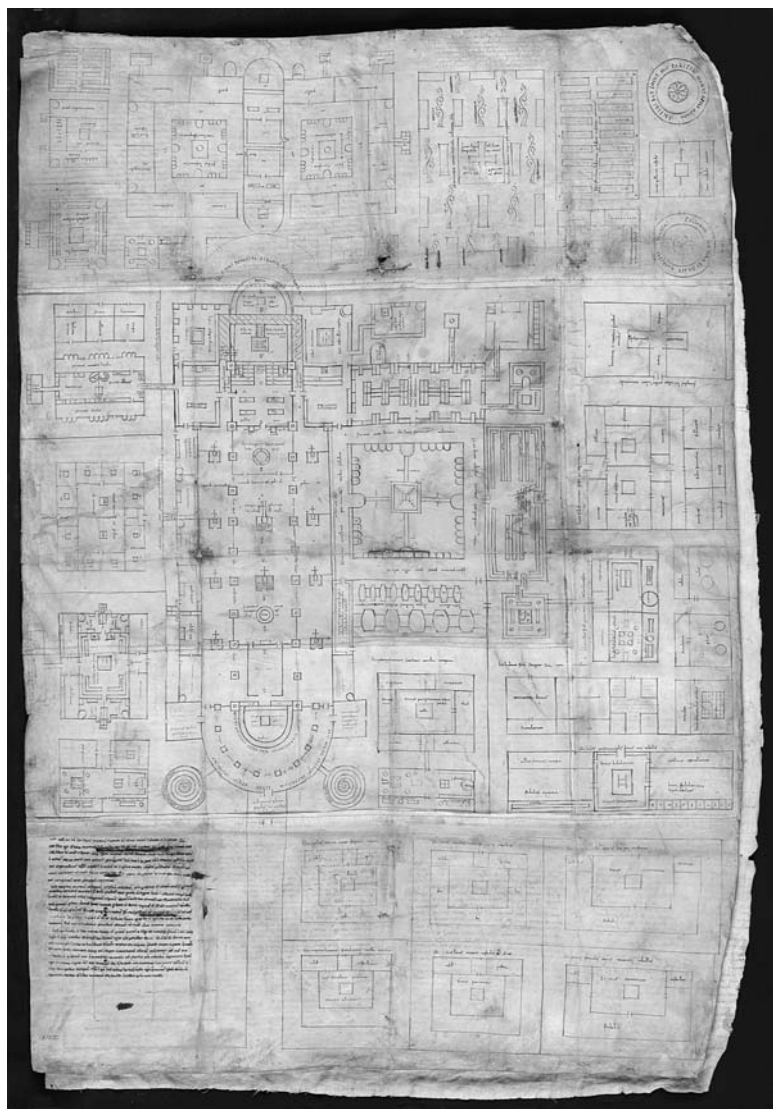


Figure 6.1. Plan of Saint Gall (ca. 830). Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek.

origins (the evocation of the *templum* in the complex's monumental entryway) through the heroic age of martyrdom (the racetrack-like lineup of martyrs' relics in the basilica's array of altars) to an apocalyptic future (foursquare heavenly Jerusalem embedded in the monks' cloister). As such, the Plan exemplifies the Carolingian fondness for the encyclopedia, the compendium of all knowledge from Creation to the end of times.⁴ For the monastic eye, the Plan was a remarkable form of visual exegesis. Moreover, the Plan fused the spiritual concerns of the Carolingian cloister with the practical applications of Roman town planning and villa design.⁵ And, similar to the Fulda rotunda, which comes down to us in both textual and material media, the Plan pairs architectural inscriptions (*tituli* etched in brown ink) in verse and prose with visual renderings of precise monastic edifices.⁶

The Plan is thus in keeping with the Carolingian predilection for the *opus geminatum*, "a twin work" of poetry and prose—a style favored by intellectual luminaries such as Hrabanus Maurus and Brun Candidus.⁷ This document attests to the Carolingian taste for using visual and textual media to present otherworldly realities, such as the eschatological import of the four-square cloister. The Plan also encapsulates the entire social and economic range of the empire, as its spatial arrangements house the elite (visiting royalty, church dignitaries, abbot) all the way down to the impoverished (hostels for the paupers and pilgrims and workhouses for laborers). For the above reasons, the Plan continues to be attractive to an interdisciplinary community of academics working in the fields of art, architectural, social, economic, liturgical, paleographical, medical, and ecclesiastical history.⁸ The present discussion looks at the Plan from the perspective of gender theory.⁹

The virtual monastery of Saint Gall is more famous among historical, art historical, and architectural circles than is Fulda's rotunda church, and, as such, this manuscript has been the subject of much debate as to its origins, dating, and function. Additionally, the Plan's relationship to the reform agendas of the Carolingian *renovatio* has sparked a great deal of recent controversy among specialists. In the late 1970s, Berkeley architectural historian Walter Horn and architect Ernst Born published a monumental three-volume study of the Plan, complete with site elevations of the buildings reconstructed in a theoretical manner by Born. In many ways, Horn and Born's *Plan of St. Gall* has set the stage for debate about the Plan because of their love of the minute details of the artifact and their willingness to situate the Plan within social, economic, cultural, political, spiritual, and secular contexts. Horn and Born wanted to prove that the design of the monastery

depicted on the Plan revolves around square modules and hence it is a precursor to the bay system—the revolutionary spatial conceit of Romanesque architecture. They also connected the Saint Gall manuscript directly with the reform agendas of the Aachen synods of 816 and 817. Horn and Born remain the unrivaled heralds of the Plan to modern scholars (especially those working in English), though key components of their legacy have been challenged by historians of monasticism and architectural historians of the early medieval period, who take issue with their overly zealous imposition of the uniformity supposedly craved by Carolingian reformers on the contours of the Plan.¹⁰

For example, in the 1990s, architectural historian Werner Jacobsen offered a revised reading of the Plan of Saint Gall. Jacobsen carefully considered the architecture of the Plan's basilica (and cloister) within the context of sacred and imperial edifices of the Carolingian era, including the actual church built on the site (ca. 830–36) by the abbot of Saint Gall, Gozbert (ca. 816–36).¹¹ Unlike Horn and Born who were wed to the Plan's origins in the 816 and 817 synods, Jacobsen has argued for a later date (ca. 830) and a different context. For Jacobsen, the Plan is a singular artifact—not one allied with an overarching imperial policy of spiritual transformation and renewal. The Plan's genesis can best be understood as a local response to an abbot's request for a visual scheme of a monastery's layout.¹² Moreover, Jacobsen rejected Horn and Born's controversial theory that the extant Plan is actually a tracing of a now-lost original produced at the Aachen synods.¹³ As proof, Jacobsen (following the work of other German scholars) underscored how close scrutiny of the parchment's surface reveals a series of emendations, erasures, and alterations.¹⁴ Thus the Plan is not an ideal drawing impressed on the blank vellum page and exported from the royal court. Rather, it appears to have been the subject of invention, debate, and revision at the local level. Additionally, the Plan's overall structure is not based on the symmetrical square modules (forty by forty feet) imagined by Horn and Born. As Jacobsen has demonstrated, there appear to be a number of competing measuring systems used on the Plan, depending on which sector of the map the viewer happens to be contemplating.¹⁵

With all of these caveats as to the ideology, uniformity, and execution of the Plan of Saint Gall taken into consideration, it is possible to summarize where the scholarship on the manuscript stands at this point in time. Most interpreters of the Plan agree on the following: it was most likely produced at the monastery of Reichenau as evidenced by the two distinctive scribal hands that crafted its three hundred plus prose and verse *tituli*.¹⁶ Jacobsen

believes that the Plan dates to around 830 (in lieu of the earlier date of ca. 820 proposed by Horn and Born).¹⁷ In arguing for 830 over 820, Jacobsen prefers the viewpoint of Iso Müller, who notes that the presence of the relics of Saint Sebastian (in one of the basilica's altars) proves a later date for the Plan's creation, as the remains of that martyr did not make their way north of the Alps until sometime after 826.¹⁸

The recipient of the Plan was Abbot Gozbert of Saint Gall, who is addressed by name in the dedicatory inscription.¹⁹ The Plan, then, was drawn for Gozbert's community in Saint Gall as relics of the abbey's founder, the hermit Gall, who was a disciple of the seventh-century Irish missionary Columbanus, are in the eastern crypt and labeled with a *titulus* drawing the viewer's attention to the saint's identity.²⁰ Archaeological evidence suggests that there is some overlap in terms of the crypt, scale of the church, and features of the nave between the basilica actually built by Gozbert in the early 830s and the spatial arrangements inscribed on the Plan.²¹ There is no evidence, however, that Gozbert's real basilica was a "double-ender."²² Jacobsen speculates that Erlebold of Reichenau and his scribal master Reginbert oversaw the Plan's creation in the 830s, though other scholars prefer Haito, abbot of Reichenau in the early 820s and bishop of Basel, as the Plan's patron.²³ The identity of the creator of the Plan will undoubtedly remain obscure, though the manuscript's origins in the Carolingian monastic world of southwest Germany are fairly certain as is its target audience: Gozbert and, by extension, the monks of Saint Gall.

This chapter's approach to the Plan of Saint Gall draws heavily on the work of previous generations of architectural historians, but adds a gendered analysis of space. A gendered space is one that fosters, enhances, or mirrors back the culturally prescribed gender of its inhabitants. In this instance, the Plan (and the activities it houses) mirrors back the gender pyramid produced by the practice of the Rule. Thus a major feature of the ensuing discussion is the inscription of the pure mouths of monastic mandarins (*honestiores*) onto the power spaces of the Plan of Saint Gall. In turn, the analysis considers where the mouths of lesser beings (*improbi*, boys and the laity) are "plugged up." In order to illuminate the contrasts in spatial practices between the "mouth men" and the "body men" of the Rule, this investigation focuses on the following divisions among the virtual users of the space: invited and uninvited guests, wealthy and poor pilgrims, pristine and polluted mouths, consecrated and unconsecrated Christians, and masculine and feminine bodies.

Although the Plan of Saint Gall is a prominent source for the study of Carolingian monasticism and its built environment, it is instructive to lead the reader through its spatial zones before gendering its diverse spaces.²⁴ Modern scholars calculate that if the monastery depicted on the Plan had actually been constructed instead of remaining a hypothetically built edifice, the complex could accommodate up to 110 monks, 115 lay visitors, and perhaps as many as 150 agricultural workers and artisans. The monks' refectory has the capacity for about 120 diners.²⁵ These computations are made possible by the fact that the Plan's meticulous designer(s) singled out the number of beds, dining benches, seats in the monks' choir and eastern apse end of the basilica, scriptorium desks, and even toilet seats (Latin, *sedilia*, "seats"). The monastery's population then is calculated from these objects of daily use. Moreover, the artists took the trouble to provide the measurements of certain edifices, such as the distance between the columns in the western atrium.²⁶ Architectural historians have reconstructed the dimensions of the buildings as if they had actually been erected. The Plan is divided into five major spatial units: sacred (basilica, round towers at the monumental entryway to the complex, lodge for visiting monks, abbot's house, cemetery, and the cloister complex), lay (elite guest quarters, servants' quarters, hospice for pilgrims and the poor), educational (novitiate wing and the outer school for elite lay boys), medicinal (infirmarium, physician's house, bloodletting complex, herb garden), and agricultural and artisanal (workshops, animal pens, lodgings for agrarian workers, and gardens).²⁷

Equally, these zones imperfectly line up with the cardinal directions, and, in turn, the cardinal points reveal something about status within the ritual systems of the Plan: elite secular (in the northwest sector), secular lower class (southwest precinct), elite monastic (northeast and southeast quadrants), and liminal, that is, neither fully monastic nor fully lay and positioned on the outer ranges of the complex (the sick and the novices in the extreme east and agrarian workers in the far south). The creator of the Plan situates the living space of the lay elite to the northwest and that of the monks to the southeast. The double-ender basilica is divided into east and west zones, the eastern sector being an area of high status within the overall spatial context of the Plan, while the western zone is linked to lesser, lay status. Furthermore, the power spaces of the Plan are framed with classicizing, masonry features: columns, arcaded galleries, and loggias, in contrast to the spare timbered structures of lesser status, such as the workhouses of laborers and shelters for animals.²⁸

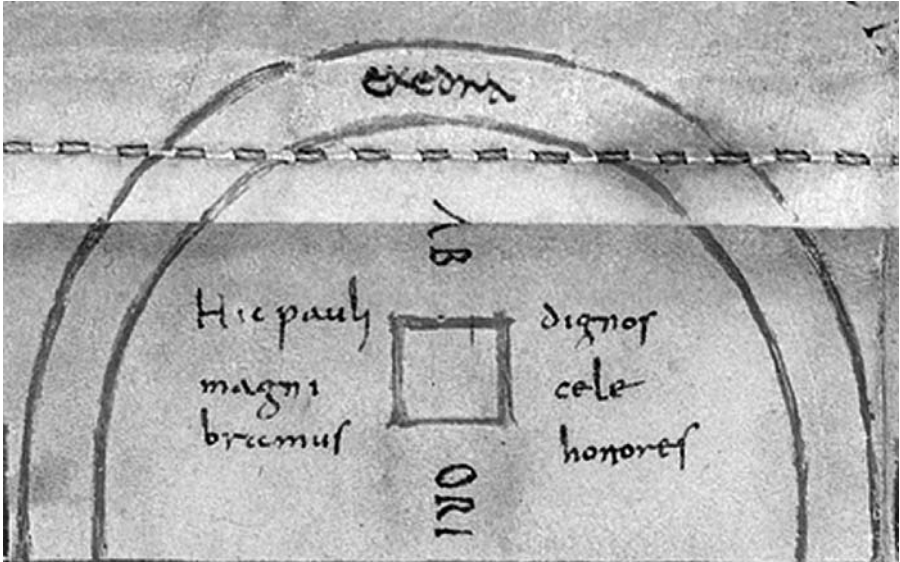


Figure 6.2. Abbot's semicircular synthronon, eastern apse (*exedra*), Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* to the left and right of the altar of Paul reads: "Here we celebrate the honors worthy of the great Saint Paul" (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:29).

The visual climax of the Plan is its symbolic "head," that is, the altar dedicated to Saint Paul in the elevated eastern apse of the double-ender basilica. Spiritual status hinges on proximity to that "head," and, in theory, laity were not to enter the sacred east end. As a demonstration of his *caput*-like status, the abbot took his seat on the synthronon of the eastern apse. From his position on the synthronon, he would be flanked by the monastery's high-ranking ascetics (*honestiores*) (Figure 6.2). Visually, the abbot would be lined up with the basilica's supernatural "head," Christ, whose cosmic dominion is evoked in the semidome of the eastern apse. This power space in the eastern apse is also the key panoptic site of the entire Plan, as the abbot's supervisory gaze is aligned with that of the Godhead, itself distilled through the altar dedicated to Paul. Additionally, the abbot's eye receives the best view of the entire basilica, complete with its extensive collection of martyrs' altars.

Of these seemingly neat spatial and directional divisions, there are a number of hybrid structures, where the secular and the spiritual bump into each other and become messy and confused, such as the abbot's dwelling,

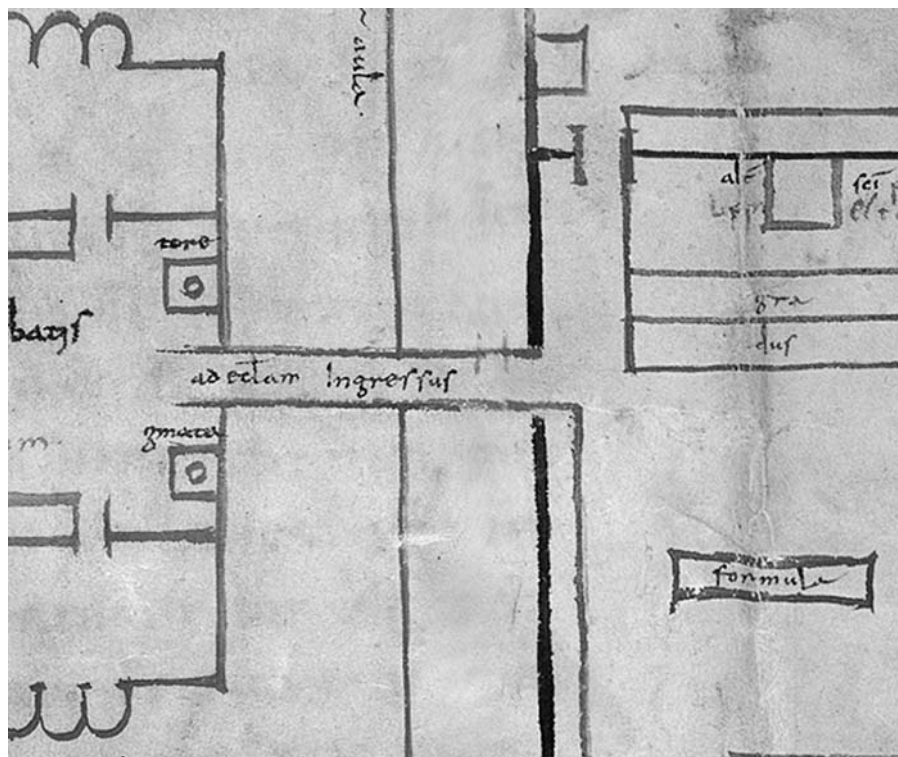


Figure 6.3. Abbot's private entryway into the basilica, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* reads: "entrance into the church" (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:50).

which is situated to the north of the basilica (in contrast to the monks' cloister to the south) and aligned visually with the lay elite guest quarters and the external school. Therefore, spatially, it would seem that the abbot belongs more to the elite lay groups and less to his monastic brethren, who are positioned on the opposite side of the basilica and hence beyond their holy father's surveillance. This mixed role for the abbot is borne out by Carolingian texts, which underscore his residence as a place where clerical and lay elites meet.²⁹ Yet the abbot has the most privileged path to the basilica: a private entryway into the sacred east end of the church, which serves as a visible marker of his unique spiritual status (Figure 6.3).

Like the abbot's residence, another hybrid structure on the Plan is the parlor for the monks' visitors, nestled in between the western (lay) zone of

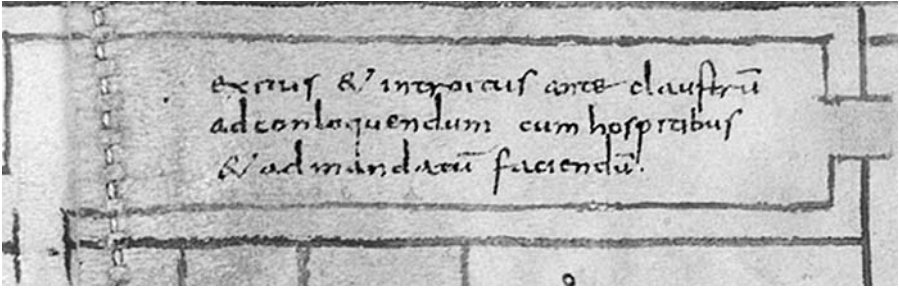


Figure 6.4. Monks' parlor, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* reads: "exit and entrance to the cloister where the monks may engage in conversation with the guests and where the washing of feet takes place" (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:34).

the basilica and the foot of another spiritual power space on the map: the foursquare cloister (Figure 6.4).

The monks' parlor is a place where holy men receive guests from the outside world, where they speak with them, and where they ritually wash their feet (RB 53.13). As such, the parlor is akin to the spiritually charged gallery of the Corvey westwork, where seculars and monks met and where classicizing images of female monsters mark the space off as potentially dangerous. Finally, the crypt, entered by both monks and seculars by way of separate staircases, is yet another amalgam space on the Plan (Figure 6.5). The crypt is certainly the most intensely hybrid and feminized space in the entire complex, as it is close to the "head" of the basilica (the sacred east end) and yet a place where monks and laity collide with one another. Thus, when viewed through the lens of gender, the Plan's seemingly neat divisions between sacred and profane are, in fact, more complicated.

As a document of the Carolingian monastic imagination, the Plan reveals more about ideologies of space than actual material practices, though real practices are embedded within the Plan's spatial arrangements, such as the multiplication of the number of altars, railings, and screens in an early medieval basilica devised to accommodate an increasingly elaborate liturgical system and to deepen the ritual separation of monk and lay visitor.³⁰ Although the Plan of Saint Gall exists in the realm of the hypothetical, a number of architectural historians have pointed out that certain facets of its design resemble contemporary edifices.³¹ Werner Jacobsen rightly maintains that it is not enough to dismiss the Plan's seemingly idiosyncratic features (such as its

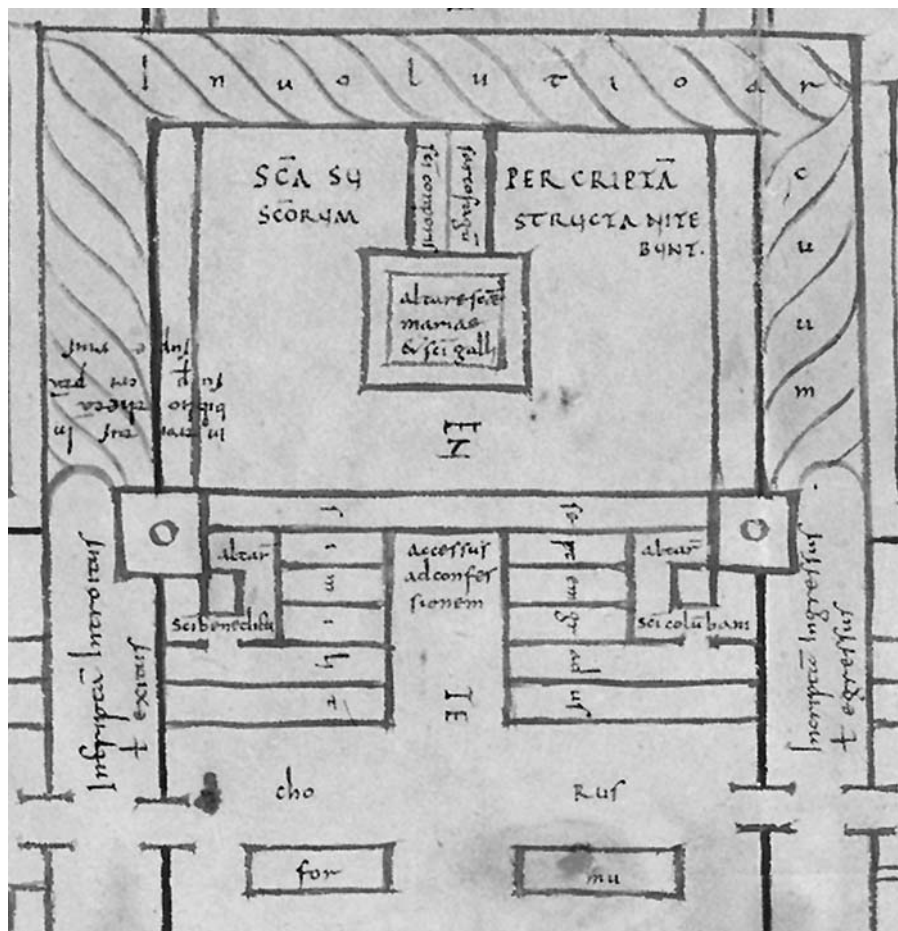


Figure 6.5. Crypt, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* at the top left and right of the crypt reads: “Above the crypt the holy structures of the saints shall shine” (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:29).

monumental front with towers) as a *Phantasieprodukt*.³² The painstaking work of the scribes who penned the Plan’s *tituli*—labeling, defining, and even allegorizing the spaces displayed on the parchment—makes it possible to map out Carolingian ideologies of sacred space in terms of class, ritual status, and gender. After all, the artifact under examination here is so meticulous that its creators took the time to record every door or entryway within

the complex—some 290 of them in total.³³ Because of these *tituli* the Plan reveals much about competition between insiders and outsiders, that is, monastic and lay elites. The Plan also represents a “promiscuous” space, that is, a space where rich and poor, old and young, high status and low status, insider and outsider, masculine and feminine, and, perhaps, even male and female mingle dangerously.³⁴

Invited Versus Uninvited Guests

Hagiographical texts such as Brun Candidus’s *Life of Eigil of Fulda* featured in Chapter 5 provide a sense of the types of guests who visited large, prosperous monasteries in the Carolingian Empire. Candidus’s sacred biography of Abbot Eigil states that during major festivals, the entire class structure of the empire would converge on the monastery of Fulda, both invited elite guests and uninvited lower-class pilgrims.³⁵ The Plan of Saint Gall visualizes Candidus’s division of the monastery’s clientele into invited and uninvited guests.³⁶ The viewer of the Plan—certainly Gozbert, probably his monks, and maybe even elite visitors to the abbey—is given a series of messages about the spatial experience of the lower-class visitor to the monastery. Foremost among these is the way in which the space moves lower-class or servile bodies through the site. The visitor’s first encounter with the space occurs at the entryway to the monastic complex, where a ceremonial pathway—the *via sacra* toward the *templum*, as an accompanying *titulus* defines it—climaxes at the impressive front of the monastic complex (Figure 6.6).³⁷ To enter the interior, pilgrims move through a modest gatehouse and immediately meet the curved exterior wall of an atrium, which echoes the form of the western apse of the basilica behind it. The interior space of the atrium sends a clear message to the eye of any learned entrant: it is a material “quotation” of classicizing and early Christian structural forms (the curved *porticus* of Roman *exedrae*; the quadrangular atria of Constantinian basilicas created to accommodate pilgrims). Its roofed, semicircular row of columns leads to a tantalizing fingernail of green space, a sort of mock cloister for the non-consecrated.

The designer of the Plan links the atrium of Saint Peter’s in Rome with the entry space of the Frankish monastery. Indeed, the western zone of the Saint Gall basilica is dedicated to Peter in the fine style of Carolingian bricolage. The relationship between Rome and Saint Gall is further elucidated by

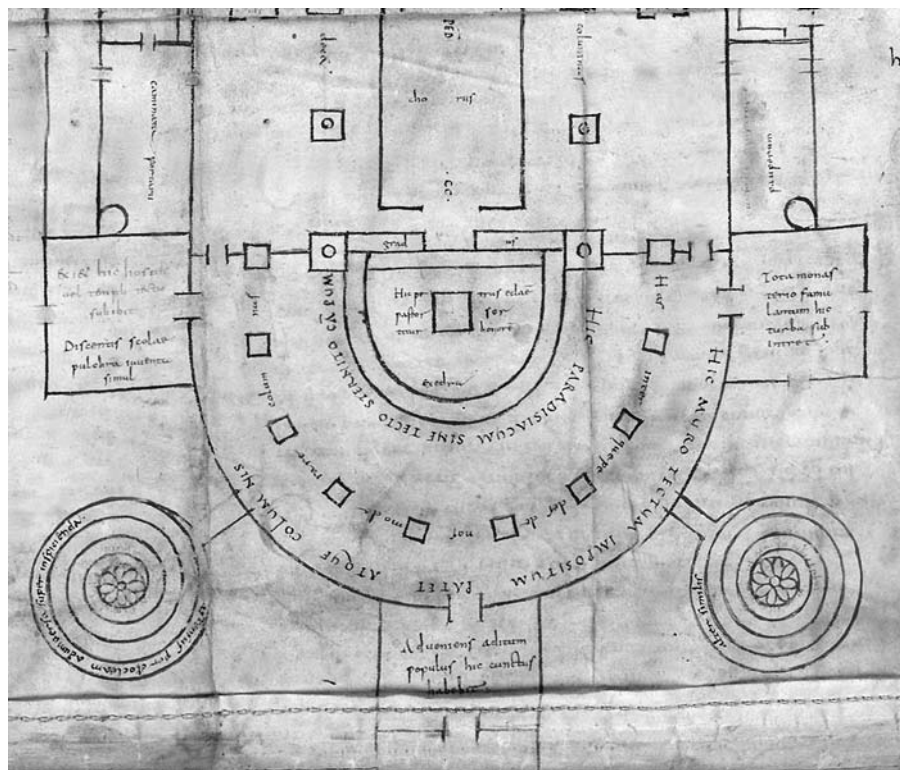


Figure 6.6. *Via sacra*, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* inscribed on the entry porch states: “Here all the arriving crowd will find their entry” (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:33).

the atrium’s accompanying *titulus*, which labels the space a *paradisus* or “entrance courtyard,” the term used for the atrium of Old Saint Peter’s from the eighth century onward.³⁸ Overall, the curved exterior façade of the monastic complex confronts the virtual guest in an unexpected manner. Where one might expect a more open, rectilinear front like that of the Corvey westwork or Fulda’s rectangular eastern lay entrance or even the atria of Constantinian basilicas in Rome, the apsidal outer wall of the Saint Gall entryway gives the sacred space the sense of being closed off to the outside world. There is no basilica entrance on axis. In a similar vein, the visitors too are cut off from secular speech as pilgrims of all classes are enjoined by the accompanying *tituli* to keep to the code of monastic silence.³⁹

The curved exterior wall of the atrium is set off by two soaring round towers dedicated to the archangels: Michael is situated in the northern sector of the monastery and to the entering pilgrim's left, while Gabriel is located in the southern district and positioned to the spectator's right.⁴⁰ The twin towers impinge on those entering the site in a number of ways. The theatrical verticality of the round towers serves to humble visitors, underscoring visibly the contrast between the impenetrable peaks of the heavens and mundane existence. Moreover, the tower form anchored to a monastic space is influenced by secular Frankish architecture, such as the curvilinear front of the royal palace complex at Ingelheim with its associated round towers.⁴¹ The political message is that heavenly royal authority is being conferred upon the Saint Gall precincts, a notion reinforced by the presence of the archangel Michael, a celestial stand-in for the Carolingian emperor.⁴² Yet, at the same time, kingly authority, symbolized by the round towers, assumes a secondary place within the structure of the Plan, as the celestial hierarchy, embodied in the eastern apse of the basilica, commands the complex.

The round towers are surveillance sites, as the *titulus* accompanying the Michael *turris* and swirling around its spiral staircase clarifies.⁴³ The *titulus* invites the viewer to ascend the heights and thus to be like the angels, for angelic imitation is a goal of the perfected monastic body. The altars set up at the summit of each tower (Michael to the north; Gabriel to the south) accentuate the panoptic use of the space: Michael is generally seen as the general of the heavens, a demon-slayer, a special custodian of Christian souls, and, in the Carolingian world, his cult has royal associations. In contrast, Gabriel is the angelic mediator between the heavens and the earth as well as the singular messenger of the incarnation. The virtual pilgrim entering this district would be conscious that while the body moves through space it remains under the direct gaze of the Eternal, as the Rule asserts: "Let us consider then, how we ought to behave in the presence of God and his angels."⁴⁴ Material embodiments of the Rule's disciplinary culture, the towers are actually surveillance mechanisms, intended to subordinate pilgrims. They function to recall the Rule's teachings on the all-seeing Deity.

The angelic towers also perform a precise spatial function in that they mark off the zones for uninvited guests. Invited guests would move toward the Michael side of the complex (with its royal and military associations), where they would enter a series of well-articulated spaces reserved for them: a lavish guesthouse, an external school, the abbot's *domus* complete with a bathing complex, or special lodgings for visiting monks. The uninvited,

lower-status visitor would be ushered toward Gabriel's side (with its intercessory and redemptive subtexts) to enter less hospitable buildings: the austere accommodations for paupers and laborers. The porch or gatehouse is the place where visitors are directed to the appropriate sections of the monastery according to rank. There are three such porches in the monumental entryway: the general porch (Figure 6.6) positioned at the extreme west and used by all classes as the gate to the entire complex; the south porch giving entry to the lower-class quarters; and the north porch, designed to move elite guests to their better housing (Figure 6.7).

To ease this division between the invited and the uninvited, the porter and the magister of the paupers, monastic officials who have charge over the atrium and gatehouse, would direct pilgrims to the north or south side of the basilica according to their status. The *tituli* express class division: the young scholars (*pulchra iuventa*) and the guests (*hospites*) are shepherded to the north porch of the atrium, where they move out into the elite guest precincts; the *turba* ("crowd" or "multitude") is shunted to the southern porch, where they enter their humble lodgings. Accordingly, the porter's lodge clings barnacle-like to the northwest side of the basilica and across from the elite guesthouse; the master's apartment is attached to the southwest side of the basilica, where it communicates visually with the hospice for pilgrims and paupers. The porter's lodge is generous by the standards of the entire site, as his accommodations are about twice the size of those of the magister of the paupers and are furnished with a living area complete with a corner hearth, a private privy, a garden space, and a large bedroom.⁴⁵ The generous quarters of the porter in comparison with those of the magister is consistent with the Plan's program of favoring the northwestern zone of the entry area over its southwestern counterpart.

The hospice for lower-class visitors, located in this southwest zone, is near the monastery's animal pens, stables, and the housing for laborers (Figure 6.8).⁴⁶ In fact, the spatial arrangements of the hospice mirror the structures designed to hold animals (sheep, goats, cows, pigs, horses). Symbolically speaking, the hospice for uninvited guests is linked with the "feminine, slavish, or bestial."⁴⁷ Its position in the Plan is in keeping with the classical architectural theories of Vitruvius, who taught that the servile sectors of an elite residence, for instance, the slave corridor, should be at a distance from the spaces reserved for elite guests.⁴⁸ In the Plan, the poor and the wealthy are divided by the atrium and its lofty round towers—a hefty material barrier. Moreover, the hospice is subdivided into functional spaces: a vernacular-style

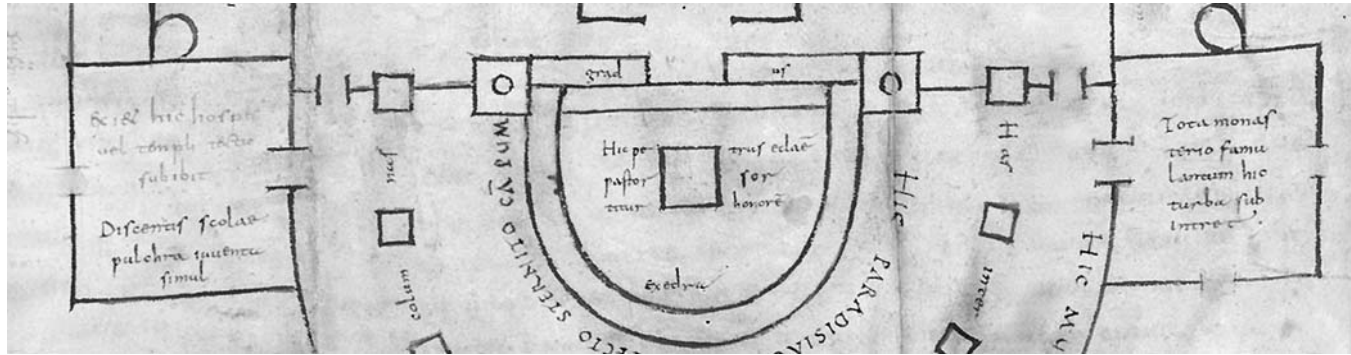


Figure 6.7. Hospitality porches, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The porch on the far left grants access to the elite guesthouse and outer school; the porch on the far right guides visitors to the servants' quarters and the hospice for pilgrims and paupers. The inscription on the left porch reads: "At this point the guests will go out or enter quietly under the roof of the church. Likewise the noble youth who attend the academic school." The *titulus* on the right porch instructs: "Here let the entire crowd of the servants enter the monastery quietly" (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:33–34).

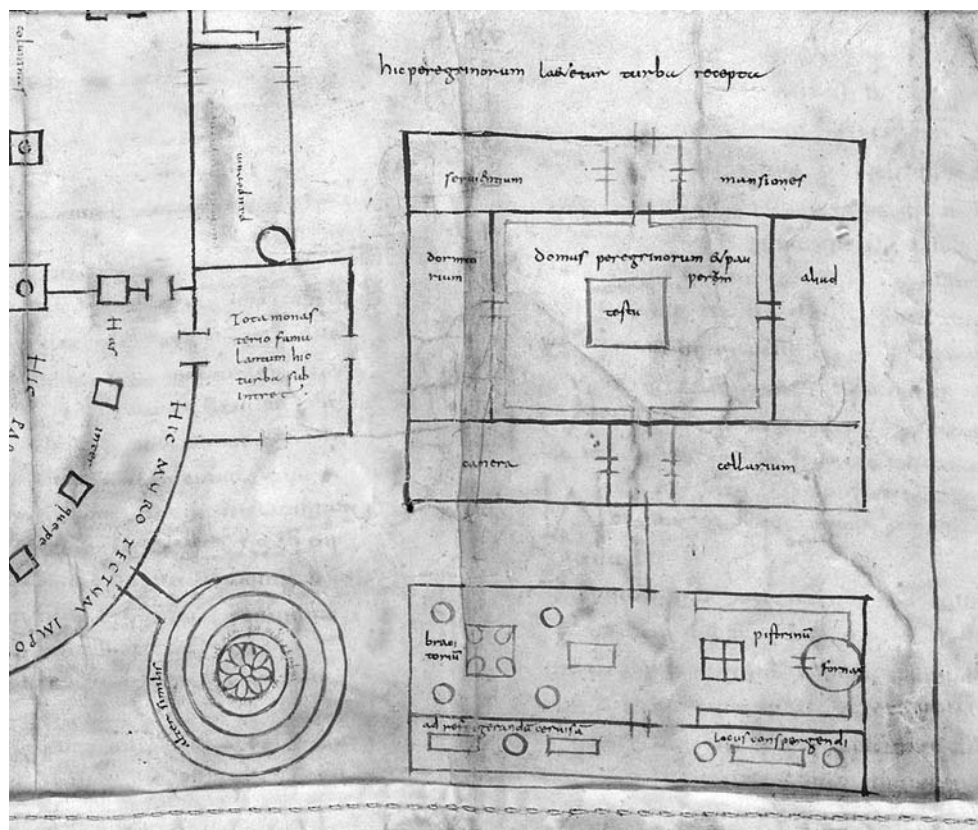


Figure 6.8. Hospice for uninvited guests, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The inscription above the entrance reads: “Here let the throng of pilgrims find friendly reception” (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:70).

central hall with a hearth (and an opening in the roof to let out the smoke), with adjacent common dormitories. There is also a supply room, a cellar, and servants’ quarters. A kitchen space with brewing and baking capacities is annexed to the hospice. The plan of the uninvited guest facility expresses its Spartan nature: only the basic functions of the body will be tended to here. Clearly missing in the hospice, however, are latrines, status markers in other key units of the Plan.

Where the hospice for the pilgrims and paupers departs from the Vitruvian vision of a multifaceted, upper-class household that spatially isolates the

elite from the servile is in the structure's alignment with the most powerful domestic dwelling on the Plan: the monks' cloister positioned directly above it toward the sacred east. From the perspective of the Rule, this configuration makes sense as the complex forms a holy trinity of space: the cloister, the hospice for poor uninvited guests, and the tower dedicated to Gabriel. As Hildemar of Civate instructs in his handbook on Carolingian monastic practice, the foot-washing ceremony carried out in the monks' parlor is aimed at poor visitors.⁴⁹ Thus, the hospice for uninvited visitors provides an easy route to the parlor.⁵⁰

The location of the hospice suggests that the northwest sector of the entry to the monastery is a place of elite, secular status; the southwest belongs to God's poor, the objects of mercy. The monks therefore display through a spatio-visual medium their allegiance to and kinship with the poor as well as their separation from worldly status. Yet the architect of the Plan does not copy the classicizing features of the monks' cloister, such as the use of masonry, the repetition of columns, the *porticus*, and the green space with a savin tree in the center, among the dark—as there are no significant windows—spare, timbered features of the hospice. Significantly, the Plan's creator does duplicate the cloister design within the precincts dedicated to novice ascetics and sick monks at the far eastern end of the complex. In this ritual system, spatial status stems in part from articulating discrete components of the Plan in a classicizing style. Therefore, the association between cloister and hospice for the poor goes only so far; that is, it serves to benefit the monks.

The status of lower-class individuals in the Plan is evident beyond the hospice. Right of entry to the basilica itself is determined by rank. The entry porch located to the far southeastern side of the basilica is intended for the poor, the uninvited, agrarian laborers, and farmers and their families. They are passive objects before the baptismal font and its liturgies, which are performed in the western, lay-oriented apse. The mirror opposite entrance on the northwestern side is reserved for invited, high-status guests. Movement through the space of the nave itself centers on class. The aisle passage climaxes at the lay entryway to the crypt dedicated to Saint Gall, but it would do so in a classed manner: invited to the north, uninvited to the south.⁵¹ Presumably this division would continue on in the crypt space itself. The segregation of the high-status and low-status guests speaks to the foundations of the Plan in classical architecture and its "classed" practices.

The lodging for distinguished guests is an intriguing edifice both within the total context of the Plan and within classical theories of domestic space (Figure 6.9).⁵² Its accompanying kitchen includes a larder, a brewery, a bakery, and storage cellars. The guests' lodge is in the archangel Michael zone of the complex, the high-status, secular northwest precinct. Comparing its arrangements with those of the hospice for paupers and pilgrims illuminates the crucial "classed" (wealthy or poor, invited or uninvited) meaning of the Plan, as class is a chief attribute of the gendered reading of the space. Unlike the basilica with its west-east axis, the *domus* has a central, profane south-north route, which would take guests first through an entry porch, where visitors would be confronted by two spaces on either side: the servants' *cubilia*, which are composed of two east-west orientated, common sleeping areas. The lack of specificity about the interior space of the *cubilia* parallels the vaguely rendered common living area of the pilgrims' hospice. The position of these *cubilia* underscores the secondary function of servants as guards, for the *servi* surround the only entry into the complex while the nobler guests are put deeper in the *domus*. Passing by the *cubilia servitorum*, a guest would then enter a central dining and living area, furnished with a large fireplace in the middle (*locus foci*), dining benches, and storage cupboards (*toregmata*).⁵³ The position of the central hearth suggests that this section of the *domus* is made of wood, presumably in a Germanic vernacular tradition.⁵⁴

To the right and left (east-west orientation) of the central hall are the semiprivate bedrooms for the elite, and the Plan presumes that this would include the emperor and his intimates, allies of the warrior angel Michael. In contrast to the timbered central hall, the presence of corner fireplaces in the private bedrooms located in the eastern and western sectors of the *domus* indicates the presence of a masonry wall. The use of both masonry stone and wood construction is characteristic of Carolingian royal hall building, thus the structure of the *domus* is in keeping with other high-status, secular buildings of the ninth century.⁵⁵ There are four suites for elite guests, two on each side of the *domus*. Significantly, the elite bedrooms include private toilets (*necessaria*), a marker of high status and a degree of *luxuria* within the context of the Plan. Even the number of beds is represented: two in each suite, along with two benches. Within the spaces of the Plan, the elite quarters offer the most privacy to their occupants.

Continuing on through the *domus*, a guest would reach another entry porch at the very northern end of the house. On either side of this porch are

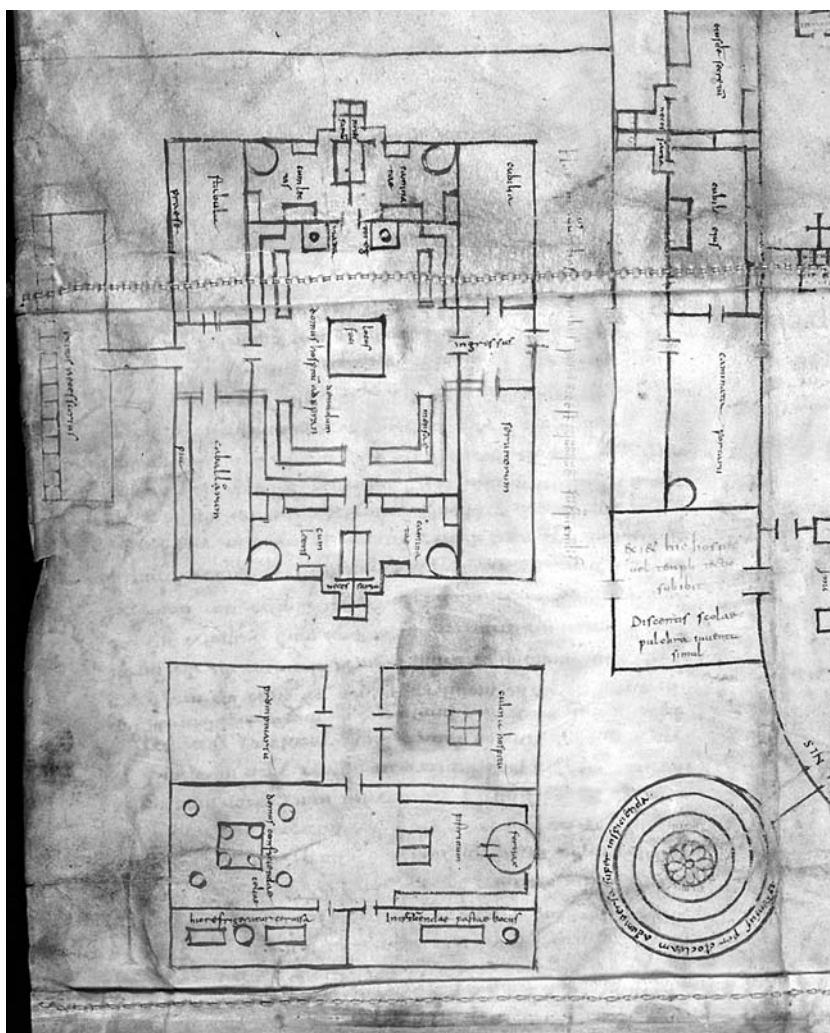


Figure 6.9. Lodging for invited guests, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* atop the major entrance reads: “This building, too, serves for the reception of guests” (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:45).

the stables for the horses of the royal retinue. The Plan reveals that horses, which were valuable animals in the Carolingian world, would have been led through the central hall (south to north) to enter into their stables, a measure designed to protect against theft. Visually, the stables and the servants' quarters mirror one another, both in terms of scale, positioning relative to the central hall, and their lack of spatial articulation. A *titulus* accompanying the horses' stables marks out the manger space for the animals, however. This inscription suggests that the animals have a more specialized space on the Plan than do the invisible servants.⁵⁶ As McClendon notes, the Plan gives equal value to horse and royal servant.⁵⁷ Finally, a royal *servus* would have to pass through the central hall and the northern porch providing entry to the horses' stables to reach the servants' latrine. The latter is a communal privy with eighteen seats, or *sedilia*, providing some sense of the number of servants in a royal entourage.⁵⁸

The lodging for elite guests communicates to the viewer of the Plan a mixed message concerning status. Superficially, there are some structural similarities between the *domus* for the invited guests and the hospice for the paupers, as both residences are equipped with vernacular-style central halls. Yet, the space of the *domus* is much more hierarchical in nature, fusing as it does noble, servile, and even bestial quarters. The *domus*'s construction materials are mixed (unlike the spare timber design of the hospice of the poor): stone and wood. Stone is a high-status material within the context of the Plan, while wood belongs to less prestigious buildings. The monastic creators of the Plan did not go so far, however, as to imbue the *domus* for invited guests with the classicizing attributes of the cloister, that is, columns, loggia, or foursquare courtyard, which would have marked the space off as one of the most prestigious.

From a gendered perspective, the elite *domus* makes a point visually about worldly softness and upper-class *luxuria*: the invited guests of highest rank have the most elaborate (semi)private spaces on the Plan, down to the indulgence of having one privy per two beds. Even high-ranking monastic officers, such as the porter, sleep in larger communal settings. The total number of toilets in the elite lodge is twenty-two, with eighteen for the servants, four for the nobility. This number is in contrast to nine toilets in the communal latrines attached to the monks' dormitory, which serves the needs of seventy-seven male ascetics. Of course, the hospice for uninvited guests lacks any sort of toilet space. The *domus* for invited, noble guests thus is a body

place, a space devised for the pleasures of eating, sleeping, socializing, and defecating. Frankish aristocratic culture was characterized by its fondness for “weapons, warfare, sex, and feasting.”⁵⁹ The *domus* for invited upper-class guests then is a visual declaration of the degree to which elite visitors are immersed in the body. Therefore, they must be quarantined to the extreme northwestern zone of the complex—an area at a calculated distance from the pure space of the monks’ cloister.

Interpreting the abbot’s residence within the context of the lodge for elite guests is equally enlightening. Although its footprint on the Plan is close in size to that of the elite guests’ lodge, an accompanying *titulus* distinguishes the space as an *aula* (dwelling, court, temple, hall, or church) in lieu of a *domus* (household, house, or building). The abbot’s hall is an intriguing, hybrid space on the Plan (Plate 7). Its position in the northwestern zone links it visually and politically with the elite guest quarters and the external school for upper-class *scolastici*, which is lodged in between the abbot’s and invited guests’ residences.⁶⁰ This sort of arrangement was a source of concern in the Carolingian era: debate at the Aachen synods (816 and 817) focused on whether or not an abbot should sleep in a separate space from his monks, since the Rule offers no specific prescription on this issue. In many respects, the abbot’s house is the most “promiscuous” building on the Plan in that its spaces accommodate a diverse clientele. Unexpectedly the abbot’s *aula* incorporates—yet inverts—key visual markers of the life of cloistered virtue, and it does so in a bold manner.

A *titulus* informs the Plan’s viewer that the abbot’s *aula* is encircled by fencing on all sides.⁶¹ The residence sits cloister-like on a foursquare plot of land (one hundred by one hundred feet). The *aula*’s structural attributes are as follows.⁶² The building has loggias (or porticoes, as the words are interchangeable in this context) with repetitious columns facing outward on the eastern and western sides of the structure. A *titulus* underscores that these loggias are bright spaces as the arcades are ample (*porticus arcubus lucida*).⁶³ Each portico opens onto the exterior world, where it directs an elite visitor or monk into a pleasant green area. The loggia on the western side has one entryway; the eastern portico has two. Both are entered from the abbot’s living area on the interior of the *aula*, and there is an entrance passage from the exterior as well. As in the lodge for invited guests, the progression of space in the abbot’s *aula* is oriented on a south-north axis, terminating in a projecting privy with six toilets, as compared with eighteen seats in the guest-house for the nobility.

Unlike the elite lay guest quarters, however, this complex is two-storied. As such, it communicates visually with the double-storied structure of the monks' dormitory. The *tituli* inform the viewer what the function of each room is. On the ground level there is a living space on the southern side of the residence (*mansio abbatis*), complete with a corner fireplace, wall benches, and storage cupboards. Presumably this would be the place where the abbot would entertain ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries. On the northern side, there is a common dormitory with corner hearth and eight beds. The scribe tells the reader which square boxes lined up against the wall are actually beds, inscribing one letter each of the phrase *lecti hic* ("here are the beds") onto the eight squares designating sleeping couches. The abbot's bed may be the one closest to the fireplace, which is set apart a bit from the seven beds of his ascetic brothers.⁶⁴ Thus he sleeps in a smaller version of the monks' dormitory, but the location of his bed near the fireplace underscores his position atop the spiritual pyramid of the monastery. The scribe, however, makes no effort to single out the abbot's bed perhaps to obfuscate rank and emphasize the corporate ethos of the abbot's ascetic retinue.

On the second level, there is a solarium on the southern side and a storeroom (*camera*) to the north. In the Carolingian Empire, the solarium was a "symbol of royal authority," because it represented the panoptic powers of the ruler.⁶⁵ Monastic solaria probably functioned as surveillance sites, for Hildemar of Civate comments that Frankish porters had solaria over the entryways to monasteries to monitor the comings and goings of those who pass under their supervisory gaze. On the Plan, the second-floor abbot's solarium is lined up with the sacred east end of the basilica, where the monastic library and scriptorium house the precious treasures of the community, including an object like the Plan itself, which could be trotted out for viewing on ceremonial occasions. Equally, the abbot would have a full view of the external school with its resident non monastic youths. Moreover, the major entry route to the abbot's *aula*, as mentioned above, communicates directly with the east end of the basilica. His private entryway into the basilica is the highest marker of status in the Plan. Three other passageways into the *aula* can be entered through the east and west loggias. On the whole, the *aula* is a masonry structure, as evidenced by the loggias, their arches, and the corner fireplaces in the abbot's dormitory. The fencing around the structure marks it off as impenetrable and set apart; yet, the existence of four entryways into the interior from the outside suggests otherwise.

To the east of the *aula* is an attached series of service buildings quite different in nature from those of the uninvited and invited guest accommodations. The service quarters are divided into two sections that do not communicate with one another. On the side closest to the *aula*, and entered from there, stands a simple kitchen (in comparison to the carefully delineated kitchen of the lay guesthouses) on the south end—a square space simply labeled *coquina*. There are two other parallel, murky spaces: the storage area (*cellariū*) in the middle and a bathing complex (*balneatorium*) situated at the far north. Adjacent to this structure (and entered from the far eastern side) are three smaller basic *cubilia* for the *aula*'s servants. The creator of the Plan conceals the degree of luxury associated with these service facilities by not providing *tituli* describing their various functions. Hildemar of Civate explains that the staff ministering in the abbot's house would be a hybrid group of canons and monks, stressing the mixed clientele of the space and the anxieties accompanying that amalgamation.

Architectural historian Kim Sexton argues that the loggias displayed on the abbot's *aula* on the Plan of Saint Gall are structurally closer to a "classical Roman *porticus* than to a medieval cloister."⁶⁶ At first glance, the spectator of the Plan sees that the designer took the trouble to outfit the abbot's *aula* with arcades so that he could make the point visually that this dwelling emulates the emblematic porticoes of the monks' cloister. Indeed, this is part of the story, and it is calculated to soothe the anxieties of Carolingian monastic reformers, who worried about accusations of *luxuria* in the abbot's residence or the amputation of the *caput* (the abbot) from its ascetic *membra* (the monks). In a similar vein, the Plan suggests that the abbot sleeps monk-like in the company of seven of his brothers; thus, his *aula* symbolically exports the monks' dormitory situated in the southeast to the northeast zone of the monastery, making the point that the abbot is still part of the corporate body of ascetics.

Yet the politics are more complicated in the abbot's *aula* than merely transporting the power features of the *claustrum* over into the hybrid northern sector of the Plan. On inspection, there are a number of messages being sent to the trained eye by the space of the *aula* and its classicizing porticoes. First, the rhythms of the columns in the *aula* echo those of the foursquare cloister, with its foursquare groupings of columns, indicative of its anagogic mooring to the foursquare city of heavenly Jerusalem. The *aula*, however, changes the mix: three by four by three to offset, perhaps, the purely spiritual,

foursquare space of a cloister as the abbot's dwelling serves lay and consecrated bodies. Whereas the monks' *claustrum* faces inward—stressing the impassable nature of the ascetic precinct—the abbot's loggias face outward more in the manner of Roman villa design or secular uses of the loggia as juridical or administrative space. Like the abbot's body, the porticoes are positioned outward toward the world.

Loggias are not merely fancy articulations of entryways or functional passages in classical and early medieval architecture. They are designed to frame the bodies of high-ranking individuals carrying out solemn judicial, economic, punitive, or even administrative duties.⁶⁷ The abbot's two porticoes on the Plan serve as extra rooms: when taken together, the dimensions of the two porticoes "more than double the area of the ground floor interior." As such, the loggias could be used as auxiliary spaces to "frame and choreograph full-body-length views of the occupants," engaging in legal disputation or drawing up a charter.⁶⁸ Therefore, the porticoes offer the abbot additional highly visible and classicizing spaces with which to enshrine his secular or legal affairs. And these affairs take on a performative quality, as the loggia structure anticipates the presence of spectators, probably dignitaries standing in the adjacent green space, who would be observing the spectacle taking place in the portico. The porticoes are material renderings of a Carolingian abbot's worldly power—authority that trumps visually that of the highly placed lay visitor to the monastery (emperor and nobility), whose residence probably lacked classicizing attributes (save stone masonry walls) or surprisingly any sort of space set aside for ceremonial business (such as a portico or loggia). The abbot's loggia represents a startling visual assertion of monastic authority over secular powers, admittedly within the context of a Plan aimed at heightening ascetic prowess.

Moreover, the loggias give the abbot's *aula* the illusion of accessibility, as they face outward and offer the viewer a number of seemingly transparent entry points via the arcaded openings. Yet actual access to the interior spaces of the *aula* is rendered difficult by the fact that the loggias open into the living space at only one place—a portal leading into the abbot's personal quarters. The impression of openness created by the loggias breaks down upon entry, as the majority of arches appear to rest on an elevated floor slab. Intriguingly, the western loggia exits onto the green space via one off-center portal; its eastern counterpart has two exits, positioned equidistant from the ends of the structure. This arrangement suggests that the western-facing log-

gia is the real power space of the *aula* (Figure 6.10). The western loggia is less accessible to the outside world and is orientated directly toward the lay elite spaces on the Plan. The eastern loggia clearly is designed to move bodies out of the *aula*, across the green, and into the service rooms (bathhouse, cellar, and kitchen). The Plan's maker wanted to give the impression of transparency (the seemingly porous, through its repetitions of round arches, loggia attached to the *aula*) while maintaining the monastic ethos of impenetrability (the limiting of entryways to the abbot's apartments off the loggia).

The abbot's *aula* is accentuated by a "masking" façade, that is, a façade that conceals and dissimulates as much as it displays.⁶⁹ The building entices the viewer of the Plan with the abbot's worldly affinities materialized in its classicizing loggias, but the edifice then retreats from that visual tease by partially plugging up its interior space. Therefore, the *aula* makes the point that the abbot does partake of worldly authority. In fact, he does so more than any other high-ranking official on the Plan, at least within the safety zone of an ascetic environment. He sleeps with other ascetics, he uses a communal privy, and his servants work in sparse quarters. The lodge for invited guests is unquestionably a "body place"; the abbot's hall is at least a "corporate body" space. The degree to which the abbot is himself immersed in the body remains ambiguous. In all, the abbot's *aula* is the most fascinating structure on the entire Plan because it visualizes the often tense relations between secular and sacred elites in the Carolingian Empire.

Gendering the Foursquare Cloister

Part of the *aula*'s visual dissonance stems from the author's ingenious desire to quote the monks' cloister among the architectural features of the abbot's residential hall. Unlike the abbot's *aula*, the cloister is unambiguous in terms of its architectural design, functions, political import, and anagogic meaning (Figure 6.11).

An accompanying *titulus* explains that the cloister is where the pious crowd (*pia turba*) of monks engages in deliberation (*consilium*).⁷⁰ The cloister's *tituli* also inform the viewer that the space is foursquare (*quattuor*), and its foursquare nature is broken up by four paths (*semitae*) venturing into the green, paradise-like space, where a savin tree or shrub (*savina*) in the center of the cloister yard is set off by another foursquare enclosure. The cloister is

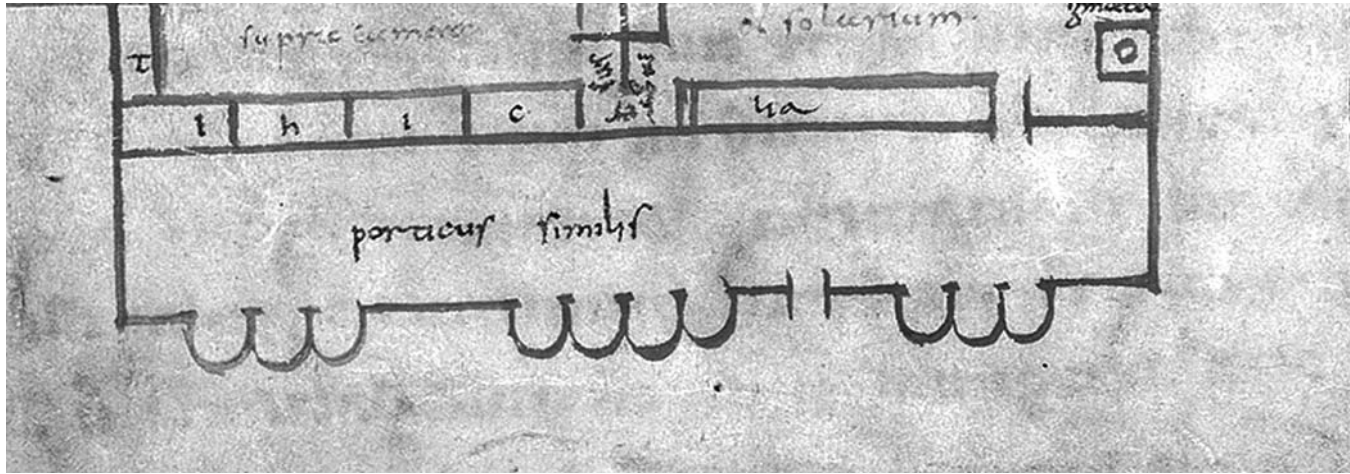


Figure 6.10. West-facing loggia, abbot's house, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* reads: "porticus similis," that is, a loggia similar to the one located on the eastern side of the abbot's house, which bears the inscription "a porch brightened by arcades" (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:49).

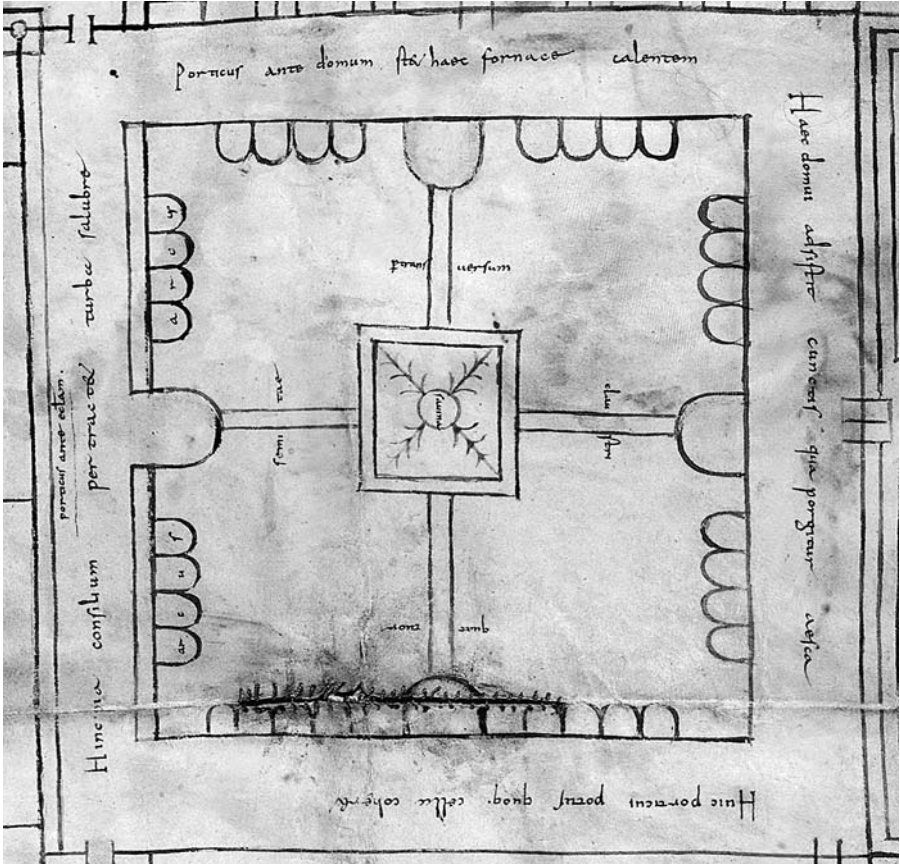


Figure 6.11. Monks' cloister, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* around the garden space of the cloister yard reads in a clockwise fashion: "Four paths across cloister yard" (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:82).

further delineated by its covered gallery (*porticus*) with repetitious, rounded arches (*arcus*), visible markers of the monks' spatial practices (bowing, meditating, circumambulating). The portico closest to the basilica (the one on the northern side of the complex) is wider than the others and furnished with benches. Its accompanying *titulus* specifies that the northern portico is a space set apart for doing business and conducting conversation on spiritual things: presumably it is where monks engage in administrative, legal, penitential, pedagogical, and even punitive actions. Thus the space of the monks' cloister

recalls that of the abbot's western-facing loggia, and both stand in stark contrast to the lodge for elite guests, who have no space set apart for conducting business. There is one calculated difference between the abbot's loggias and the monks' *porticus*, however. Whereas the abbot's portico is directed outward toward the world, the monks' cloister faces inward. Thus the *claustrum* is a trope for the perfected body of a monk: closed off to the world by a cult of esoteric silence and foursquare in its spatial experience.

There are four large arches in the cloister square marking the entry to the four paths, which climax at the savin tree (revered in antiquity for its curative properties). In between the four hefty arches, there are four-times-four groupings of smaller arches. The space is about as symbolically foursquare as biblical exegete Hrabanus Maurus or monastic commentator Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel could want: the green space of the cloister is foursquare Jerusalem, watered by the four rivers of paradise (symbolized by the four paths) and anchored by a salvific shrub, the savin. The cloister confronts the spectator with the most allegorical space on the Plan. The design makes the point visually that the monks move through zones that are otherworldly and that their bodies are moored to the foursquare rhythms of the *claustrum*. Monastic bodies are the only ones on the Plan framed by such a perfectly foursquare space.

The cloister is the physical and spiritual nexus of the entire Plan, as evidenced by its central and well-ensconced position as well as its apocalyptic subtexts: heavenly Jerusalem "lies foursquare" (Revelation 21.16). The monks' cloister is also the "inner-body" zone of the complex, as Hildemar of Civate would have it.⁷¹ As a space for the "inner man" and the "corporate body" of the monastery, the *claustrum* stands in stark contrast to the outlying buildings, such as the lodge for invited guests, which tend more to the needs of the "outer man" and his "individual body." The cloister is the reserve of males who possess *constantia*, self-mastery over the body. Additionally, the cloister's position on the interior of the complex underscores its physical and spiritual distance from the *domus* for noble visitors. No elite layman (in theory) would be able to infiltrate the foursquare mysteries of the cloister or even gaze into its spaces, an act that would be defiling within the ritual structures of the Plan. One chronicler of the real-life monastery at Saint Gall reports that "no one, not even the most powerful canon or layman of the secular world, was permitted to enter the monks' enclosure or even to glance at it."⁷² In all, the *claustrum* is the realization of the perfected body of a

Carolingian ascetic: silent, inviolate, closed off to the world, eschatological, and foursquare.

The foursquare precinct (contemplative cloister walk, refectory, kitchen, baths, latrine, dormitory, warming room, and cellar) parallels Hildemar of Civate's vision of an ideal monastic arrangement.⁷³ A monk may enter all the range's buildings without stepping into the profane space of the world. The grouping of buildings is outfitted in masonry stone and is two-storied, akin to the abbot's *aula*. Like the abbot, the monks have a private entrance from within the portico of the cloister itself or perhaps by means of a "night staircase" from the second-floor dormitory then out through the south transept and directly into the sacred eastern end of the basilica. Direct access to the liturgical power space is a clear indicator of spiritual rank. In contrast, lay pilgrims take a circuitous route. The ascetics enter into the basilica opposite the abbot: the monks from the south and the abbot from the north. Both consecrated groups are close to the sacred "head" of the basilica; in contrast, their lay counterparts come in at the "feet" in the northwest and southwest zones of the sacred space. Moreover, the monks are cordoned off from lay guests. The cloister range clings to the southern zone (redemptive archangel Gabriel's side) of the basilica, making the point that the holy men are in communion with the martyrs and saints housed there as well as Christ's saving grace represented by the angelic tower.

In terms of the gender system produced by the practice of the Rule, the key buildings attached to the foursquare cloister are revealing. The pure mouth of a monk is inscribed onto the power spaces of the porticoes, the buildings that communicate architecturally with them, and the basilica. Foremost is the Plan's refectory, with its hierarchical seating arrangements, its elevated ambo reserved for the lector, and its anxiety-ridden status as a space devoted to the mouth and its pleasures (Figure 6.12).⁷⁴ This masonry structure is two-storied: a storage area for monastic garb is located above; the eating space is positioned below. There is an attached monastic kitchen, complete with bakery and brewery. The refectory itself is a long, rectangular hall—approximately forty by one hundred feet, seating as many as 120 diners.⁷⁵ There is no indication that the space is heated, in contrast to the dormitory, which has an attached, ground-floor warming room, presumably to heat the upper level via floor openings or wall ducts.⁷⁶ Monastic diners and their invited guests enter the refectory through one portal located on the southern side of the cloister walk, and the limited entrée makes the visual point that access to the space is well insulated from the outside world. On entering,

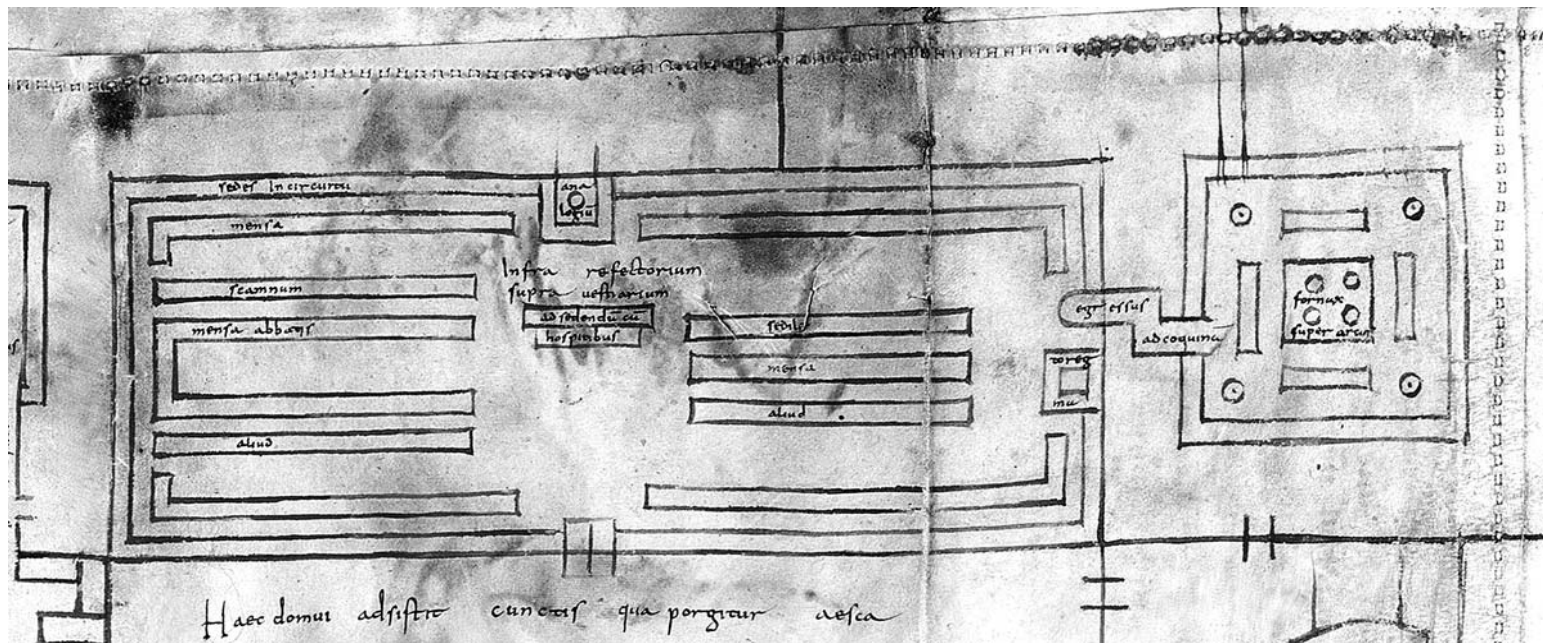


Figure 6.12. Monks' dining hall, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The inscription at the very bottom reads: "This hall, where the food is laid out, serves everyone"; the *titulus* around the circular figure at the top identifies it as the reader's lectern (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:39).

monks are confronted with the reader's elevated lectern positioned on the wall directly opposite them, a visible reminder of the importance of the Word to the inner man, especially within the refectory space devoted to sustaining the outer man.⁷⁷

Seating in the Benedictine refectory (like the oratory) embodies the rank system of the community with its hierarchical structure based on the purity of the mouth. Thus, the Plan is a visual rendering of the gender pyramid produced by the Rule and its practice. What is intriguing is the attention paid to the layout of the dining tables (*mensae*), their associated benches (*scamna*), and reserved seating for visiting holy men. The location of the abbot's table (*mensa abbatis*) is identified by a *titulus*.⁷⁸ According to the Plan, the abbot dines with his monks, a point of controversy among reformers in the ninth-century Carolingian Empire, who wanted abbots out of opulent private dining halls and back into the austere, corporate eating area of the monks. In the Plan, the abbot's *mensa* is at the far east end of the dining hall, where it naturally dominates. Therefore, the abbot's *sedes* in the refectory mirrors his ritual placement in the basilica (at the far east of the apse, or "sacred head" of the edifice), where he presides over the high altar, yet another table. Both refectory and basilica are perilous spaces devoted to the monastic mouth. As such, their spatial arrangements echo one another, the one designed to inhibit bad chanting, the other bad eating. The position of the abbot within the two spaces devoted to the mouth calls attention to the power of his panoptic gaze, as he has command over the hall and the basilica, and the bodies of diners and worshippers.

Additionally, the abbot sits at the head of a U-shaped long bench, surrounded on either side by the *honestiores*, the perfected, high-status monks, who are wed more to the pleasures of the liturgical mouth and less to the satisfaction of the gullet. The farther away one moves from the abbot's *mensa* the more likely one is immersed in the body's "underworld." According to Smaragdus and Hildemar, perfected monks are fed "through the ear" via the edificatory *lectio* recited from the refectory's ambo. The lector himself eats the Word after cleansing his palate with the ritual mouthwash of diluted wine so that he may safely swallow Christ. Those who partake in the delights of eating are at a spiritual distance from both the abbot and the lector.

As Chapter 3 makes clear, the Carolingian monastic refectory is a witness to the Benedictine recasting of the elite culture of the classical *triclinium*, with its hierarchical seating arrangement on couches, its embedded tensions between corporeal *luxuria* and manly resistance to the body, and its ritual

performance of cultural *paideia*, reproduced in the dining hall through readings of Holy Scripture and ascetic lore. The gender dynamics of the refectory are unmistakable: language, such as the lector's public reading of scripture, elevates monks to a masculine, spiritual arena; the dining body moves them down into a labile, feminine register. The refectory—like the basilica and its crypt—is a space where the two gendered styles clash openly.

The fact that the dining hall is unheated, as distinct from the dormitory, the abbot's house, the guesthouses, or the porter's lodge, underscores the refectory as an anxiety-ridden space. In the monastery, where the hours for dining and the diet of the community were subject to intense scrutiny, the custom of eating in unheated refectories would diminish the carnal effects of ingestion. A chilled ascetic body has a symbolic bonus: pain and discomfort in the body spark memories of the austerity of the desert fathers, whose presence haunts the disciplinary space of the Carolingian refectory and even the ritualized diet of its diners. Eating remains a charged activity, for it is a dangerous stimulant to desire and excess. Through the chilling of the body in the refectory in cold weather and the avoidance of luxurious foods, Carolingian monks could participate in desert attitudes toward eating—that is, taking food into the mouth is necessary, but it should not be pleasurable—which they would have known well through the lector's readings of desert texts and saints' lives in the dining hall (RB 38).⁷⁹

In front of the reader's lectern (the second chief disciplinary space of the refectory apart from the abbot's *mensa*) is a long table and bench reserved for invited guests.⁸⁰ Significantly, visitors are detached from the corporate body of Saint Gall and hence pose a potential threat to it. Therefore, the Plan isolates them in the refectory from resident monks and even the abbot. The *hospites* are also under the purview of the powerful lector, whose public performance of sacred texts is intended to calm anxieties caused by eating, as detailed in Chapters 2–4. Spatially, the monastic refectory is at a great distance from the eating area of the lay elite, a space isolated in the northwestern zone of the Plan and defiled by the eating of red meat, a luxury forbidden to the ascetic palate.

Whereas the refectory is a space devoted to the ascetic gullet, the dormitory is, symbolically speaking, a zone for the anus, itself a metaphor for illicit entry into the ascetic community. Visually, the dormitory appears to emerge straight off the southern transept of the basilica giving it the appearance of being an extension of sacred space, a prophylactic measure offsetting the

perils of nighttime eroticism (Figure 6.13). Lying on the east side of the cloister, the dormitory also gets the early morning light. Like the refectory, the monks' dorm is another long, narrow construction, estimated at forty by eighty-five feet.⁸¹ The dorm is a double-storied masonry building with a ground-floor warming room (*calefactoria*) designed to let heat rise up into the sleeping area through a system of wall ducts and floor openings. Located to the east of the cloister, the dormitory mirrors the cellar and larder complex to the south. Both are long rectangular edifices displaying objects connected with the body. The cellar exhibits fourteen barrels of varying sizes laid out in neat rows and containing necessary provisions, and the dormitory displays seventy-seven beds in tidy ranks.

Hildemar of Civate finds the common sleeping area of a monastery to be a space of potential sexual license; this is intimated by the Rule, but the Carolingian commentator spells it out. For Hildemar, monastic bodies are "little fortresses under siege at one entry point."⁸² That anal entrée expresses itself visually in the porous boundaries between the Plan's lay and consecrated spaces. The Plan offers a representation of space within which Hildemar's "little fortresses" collide with the laity—in the crypt, the basilica, the abbot's house, and service areas. Thus monastic bodies are subject to the secular gaze. Concerns over the penetration of the bodies of *honestiores* thus manifest themselves culturally through anxieties about anal erotics.

In addition to being a potential space for sexual license, the dormitory, like the refectory, is also devoted to the body. Within ascetic traditions, sleeping has both positive and negative benefits. Too much sleep imbues the body of a male ascetic with sloth. Christ's soldiers let down their guard against the devil and his legions during the perilous hours of the night. Sleep also occasions sexual fantasies, which are sometimes accompanied by nocturnal emissions. Finally, night is the time of the "great silence" in the abbey, when a boundary is created between the impassable cloister precinct and the open spaces of lay visitors.

There is a positive, political message being sent by the Plan to its viewer concerning the monastic culture of sleep, however. The Plan clarifies that sleeping in a common dormitory is a mark of ascetic status so much so that the abbot's *aula* imports the communal sleeping arrangement of the monks' dormitory over into the perilous northeastern zone of the complex. Such a move counters the accusation of worldly *luxuria* in an abbot's abode and combats the charge that the chief officer of a monastery is actually a *caput* amputated from his fraternal *membra*. The dormitory then is the strongest

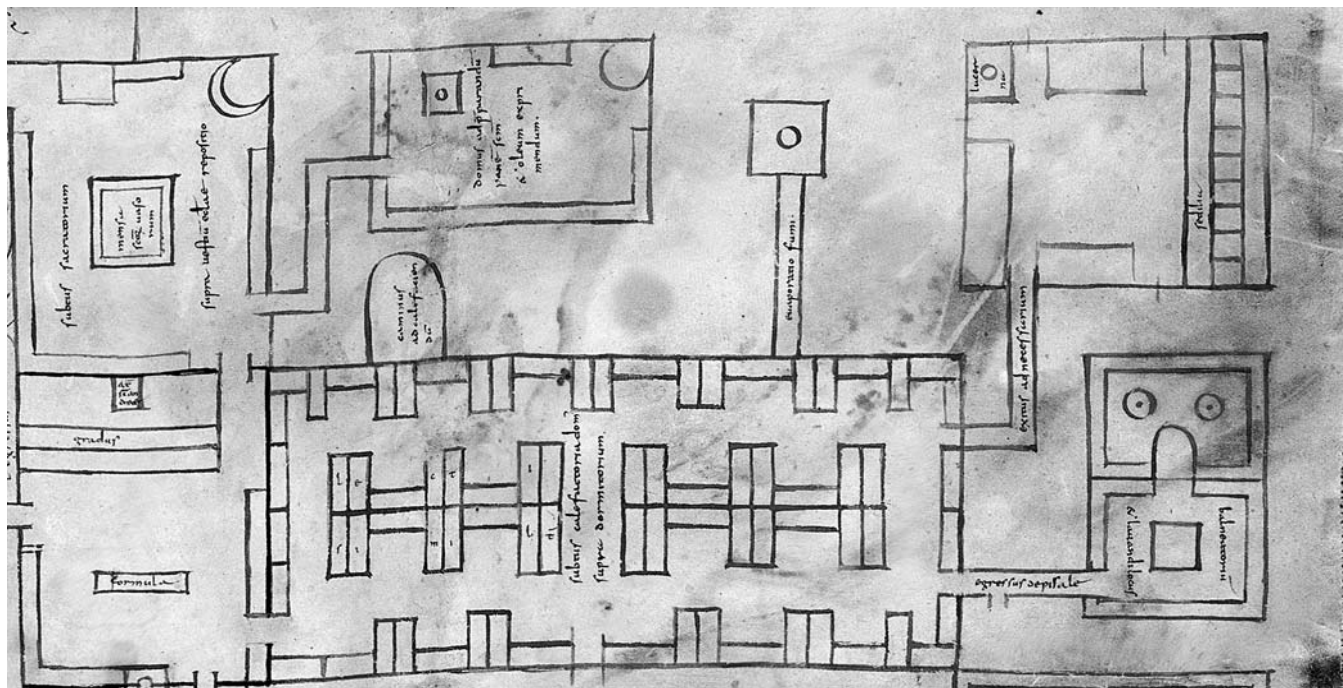


Figure 6.13. Monks' dormitory, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. Inscription in the middle of the rows of beds clarifies the division of space: "below, the warming room, above, the dormitory." The semicircular structure to the left jutting out from the top of the dorm is a "firing chamber"; the long extension to the right ending at a square structure with a circle in the middle is a "smoke escape" (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:37).

visible marker of the corporate body system of the Rule, even more so than the refectory, as the latter includes hierarchical seating arrangements for the community's members. Unlike the refectory where visiting holy men receive special seating, the dormitory expels all bodies other than those of the corporate monks of Saint Gall.

The Plan stresses the positive value of the common dormitory by bestowing on its spatial parameters the priestly number seven, for Hebrew priests in the Torah enact rituals in increments of seven. The location of the dormitory sends a similar message, as visually the *dormitorium* seems to extend from the southern transept, thereby linking the sleeping monks to the priestly space of the basilica. Thus the dormitory is an incubation site for the making of the Carolingian priesthood. And there is no visible trace of a hierarchical arrangement of beds in the common dormitory as there is in the abbot's *aula* and the refectory with its head table and table for visiting holy men carefully labeled. The monks' dormitory is one of the most "democratic" ascetic spaces on the Plan, a political side effect of the male ascetics' visual alignment with the hospice for paupers and pilgrims, who also occupy non hierarchical sleeping spaces.

The dormitory is one of the great corporate body spaces on the Plan, along with the cloister, the monks' privy, the bathhouse, and the cemetery. These buildings make the point that the monks belong to one cosmic body, set apart from ordinary humanity, and joined together for eternity. The monks' privy (*necessarium*) is entered by a passageway leading from the dormitory. Horn and Born theorize that the monks' latrine itself is positioned on the second floor of a two-storied structure and thus could be entered directly from the upstairs dormitory. The entrance point calls attention to the fact that this is exclusively a monks' latrine. The *necessarium* ("necessary") is a squarish building (thirty by forty feet) with nine toilet seats (*sedilia*) located on its southern end and unlabeled bench-like structures, possibly basins or other washing-up items, on the other three walls (Figure 6.14). Though the system for flushing out human waste is not made apparent on the Plan, perhaps the seats sat over a channel filled with running water.⁸³ Importantly, the designer took the trouble to single out the oil lamp (*lucerna*) in the northeast corner of the *necessarium*, a detail in keeping with Hildemar's anxiety about the privy space as a potential place for sex. It is the only latrine in the complex that has a *lucerna*.

Comparing the number of seats in the monks' *necessarium* with those of other privies on the Plan is illuminating. There are twenty-two in the lodge

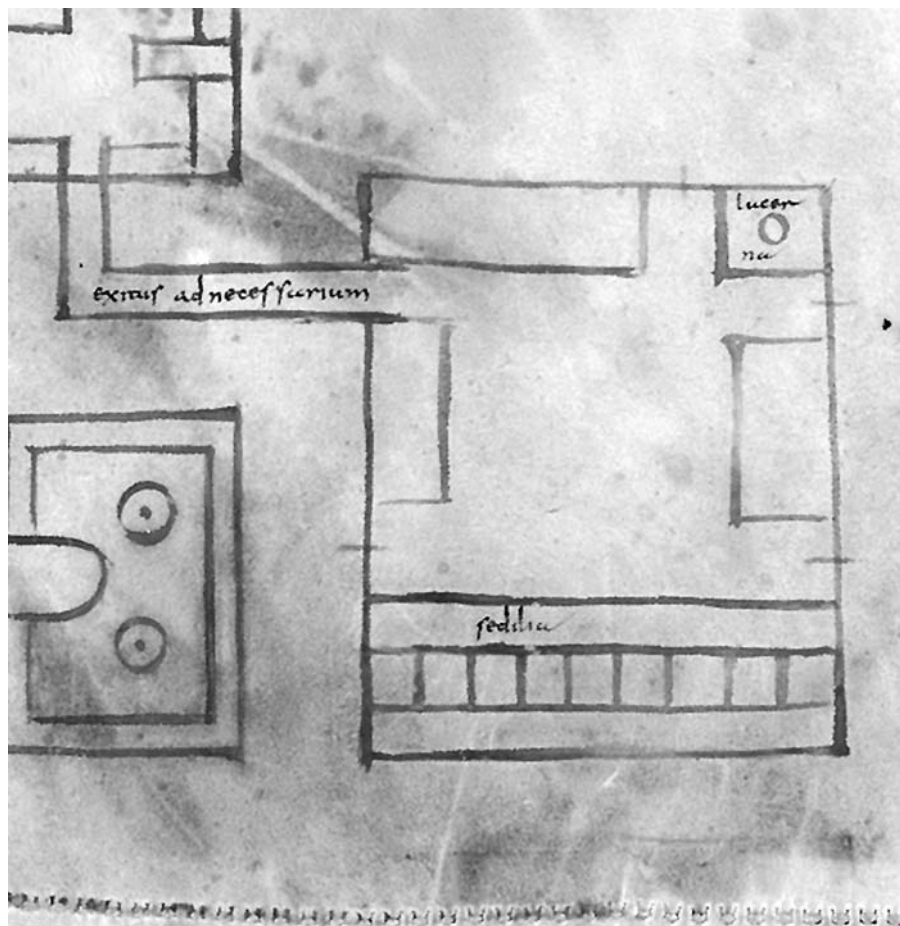


Figure 6.14. Monks' privy, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* at the top left reads: "exit to the privy [*necessarium*]"; the inscription around the circle at the top right says *lucerna* ("lantern"); at the bottom, the nine toilet seats are labeled as *sedilia* (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:37–38).

for invited guests, fifteen in the outer school, nine in the monks' privy, seven in the house for bloodletting, six in the abbot's *aula*, six in the novitiate wing, six in the infirmary, four in the physicians' house, two in the lodge for visiting monks, one in the porter's dormitory, and one in the lodge of the magister of the outer school. Within the gendered reading of the Plan, toilets signal

soft or liminal spiritual status, such as that held by a layman or a novice monk. Moreover, the author of the Plan draws a distinction among the types of privies: projecting (larger, communal facilities used typically by those of lesser status) and private or semiprivate (attached to dormitory areas of high-status spaces). The monks' *necessarium* is a singular structure: a detached latrine with its own building. The latrine has the highest ratio of users (8.5) to seats (1). In contrast, the *domus* for invited guests has one seat per private apartment, and the abbot's privy has one toilet per 1.3 users.⁸⁴ Again, the creator's intention is straightforward: the space on the Plan where the individual is least immersed in the body is the zone of the foursquare cloister.

Equally, the bathhouse makes a similar spiritual statement. The monks' bathhouse is a small rectangular edifice joined to the laundry facility (Figure 6.15). Both spaces are entered directly from the monks' dormitory. Bathing the ascetic body was a controversial practice in both late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The desert ascetics were renowned in monastic circles for their "hardness" (*duritia*), "self-mastery" (*constantia*), and their refusal to participate in the culture of classical bathing with its subtexts of *luxuria*, the naked body as target of the evil eye (*invidia*), worldly negotiation, and same-sex desire. Although the Rule does not discount the practice of bathing for healthy and young monks, it does insinuate that the cleansing of the body is the reserve largely of the sick (RB 36.8). The Plan equips the monastery's spiritually liminal spaces, the novice residence, the sick house, and the abbot's *aula*, with baths. The lay sectors of the Plan have no attached bathhouses, a testimony to the transient nature of their clientele.

As Chapter 2 details, Carolingian monastic reformers fought over whether monks should bathe at all, and if so, how often and when. A compromise was worked out between the ascetic extremists who wanted to return to the rigors of the desert and those who advocated bathing in individual wooden tubs, not in communal stone structures. Moreover, cleansing the body would take place on a liturgical cycle (Christmas, Easter—other abbots add Pentecost), perhaps as a divine prophylactic against carnal danger and the insidious gaze. The Plan's bathhouse suggests that the designer lacked concern for hygiene, for only two tubs are provided for seventy-seven ascetic bodies.

Another intriguing corporate space on the Plan is the monks' cemetery located at the extreme sacred east end of the complex in a district close to the monks' cloister. It is lodged appropriately—as it is a site of transition into the next world—between the liminal spaces of the novitiate wing/infirmarium

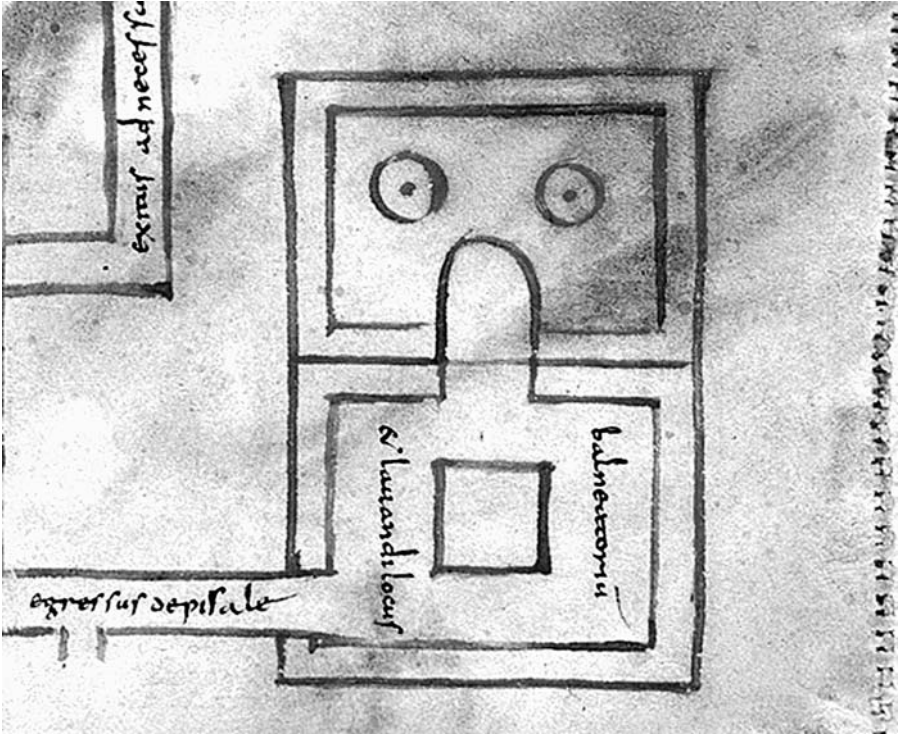


Figure 6.15. Monks' bathhouse, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The inscription simply states: "bathhouse and laundry" (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:38).

and the monks' vegetable garden (to the north and to the south). The cemetery occupies a large, rectangular field (approximately 80 x 125 ft.) punctuated by fourteen burial plots, seven to the east and seven to the west, with each plot housing (perhaps) seven corpses (Figure 6.16). Additionally, the Plan's maker specifies the plantings in the cemetery's orchard: thirteen rank-and-file areas for fruit and nut trees. The cemetery's orchard contains a bevy of delights, each labeled by a *titulus*: pears, apples, figs, peaches, walnuts, hazelnuts.⁸⁵ With its green space, the cemetery calls to mind the monks' cloister, whose centerpiece is the curative savin tree.

Yet, in the cemetery, the anchor is Christ's cross, which the Plan's creator likens to a tree bearing the fragrant fruit of eternal salvation.⁸⁶ There is some overlap between the cemetery on the Plan and Brun Candidus's *Life of Eigil*,

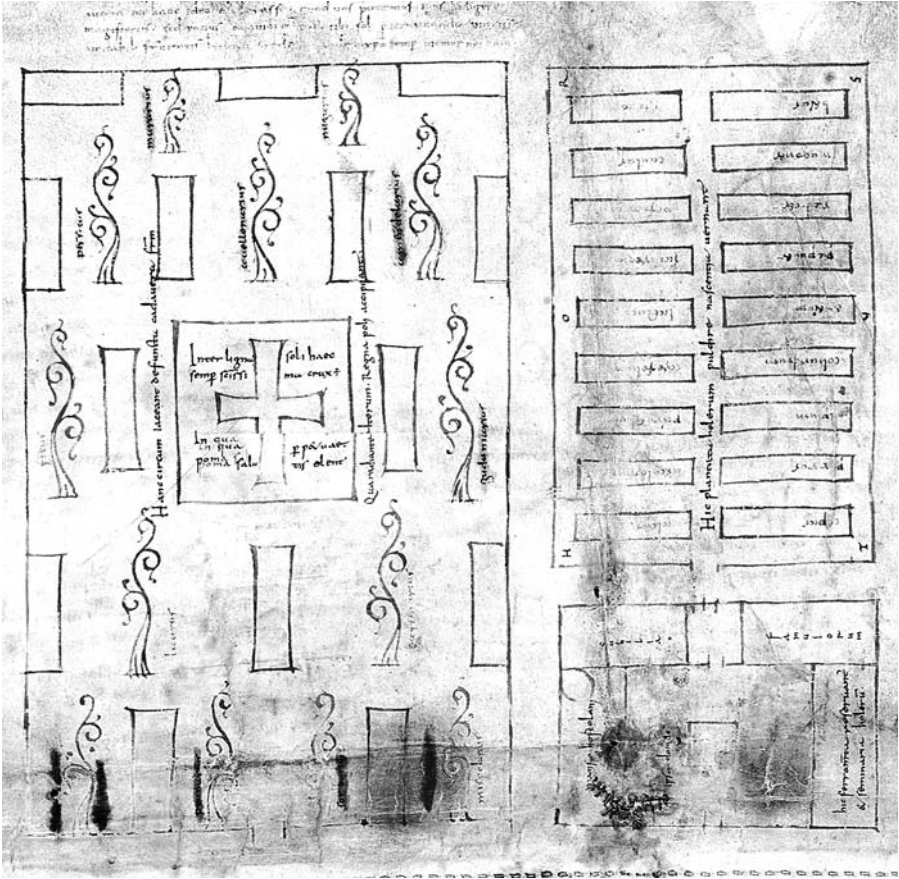


Figure 6.16. Monks' cemetery, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* surrounding the cross at the center reads: "Among the trees of the soil always the most sacred is the Cross/ On which the fruits of eternal health are fragrant" (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:85).

which suggests that like manure spread around an infertile arbor, scripture can turn repentant holy men into fruit-bearing trees.⁸⁷ Clearly, the manure of scripture works at Saint Gall, as the bodies of the holy dead mingle with trees renowned for their sweet-scented produce. Like the dormitory, there is no indication of any hierarchical arrangement among the burial plots, and no space is reserved for the abbots of Saint Gall. The egalitarianism of the cemetery is evidenced by ninth-century texts, such as the *Vita Eigilis*, where

Abbot Eigil designs his own sepulchre and digs his own grave in the Michael Rotunda at Fulda. The identities of the ascetics as individuals collapse among the communal graves with their collective orientation toward the sacred east and the monk's true homeland, Jerusalem. In this regard the graveyard is a very different sort of space on the Plan than is the refectory or the basilica. The cemetery makes a point about the postmortem identity of ascetics: the monks of Saint Gall take their corporate body (*corpus intactum*) with them into the fruited and perfumed delights of paradise, an experience detailed in the writing of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. Celestial ascent is the goal of the monastic enterprise, and the burial site of the monks evokes another "democratic" space on the Plan, that is, the hospice for pilgrims and paupers.

Adjacent to the cemetery is the space of the novitiate wing, which is attached to a mirror structure of the infirmary.⁸⁸ As a number of architectural historians have noted, these twin edifices exist as miniature versions of the basilica and cloister complex, complete with foursquare *claustra*, green space, and a double-ender mini basilica (Figure 6.17). The masonry of the novitiate wing and infirmary underscores their high status within the building context of the Plan. So does the fact that its mini basilica sits to the east of the monumental abbey church as if it were drawing spiritual power from the numinous "head" of the larger edifice. Horn and Born calculate the dimensions of the mini basilica at 27½ x 110 feet, and each cloister at 75 x 90 feet (approximately two-thirds of the space of the monks' cloister). The basilica is divided into two separate buildings partitioned off by a masonry wall: to the east is the chapel for novices; to the west, the chapel for the sick (the closest to the sacred east end of the main basilica). The split chapels do not communicate architecturally with one another as each is entered from one of the twin cloisters positioned to the north and south. The space ensures that the sick are to remain isolated from the healthy.

The novitiate wing is a complex set apart for boy oblates, adult postulants, and learned *magistri*.⁸⁹ In Hildemar's commentary, this wing can be seen to house a dangerous mix of boys and men. The spaces of the residence, glossed by explanatory *tituli*, can be summarized as follows: there is a communal refectory, dormitory with projecting privy (six *sedilia*, or seats), a warming room (*pisalis*), storeroom, kitchen, bathhouse with four tubs (double the number in the monks' cloister), and a sickroom with a corner fireplace. The master of the complex has his own private chamber, complete with a corner fireplace and attached privy—a two-seater, suggesting that he did not sleep in the space alone, which would be in keeping with the monas-

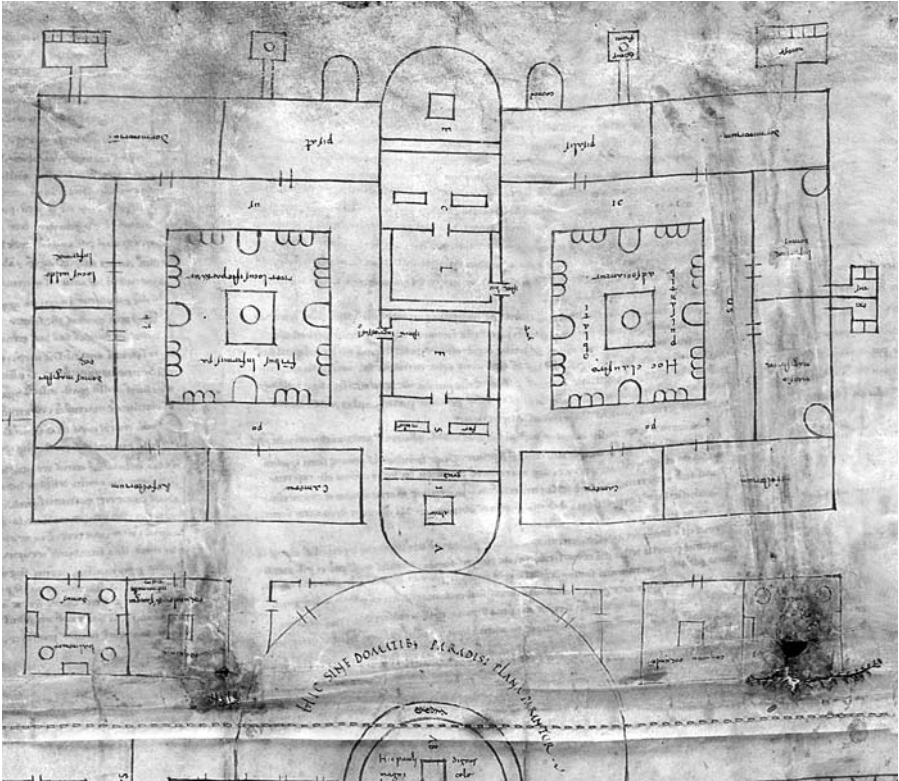


Figure 6.17. Novitiate wing and infirmary, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* on the cloister of the novitiate wing (to the right) reads: “In this cloister, the postulants and the oblates live with each other”; the inscription on the cloister of the infirm (to the left) says: “For the sick brethren, similarly this place should be established” (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:55, 57).

tic ethos of the corporate body. His space is still luxurious within the overall context of the Plan. The individual rooms of the novitiate wing are entered by the cloister, indicating that this is a mock monks’ *claustrum*, where the porticoes control the way in to the other facilities.

The sick house is a mirror image of the novitiate wing. Thus novices are spiritual kinsmen of the diseased. Like the novitiate wing, the infirmary has a communal refectory, dormitory with a projecting privy (six seats), warming room, storeroom, bathhouse (with four tubs), kitchen, and a chamber for the magister furnished with a corner fireplace but with no privy.⁹⁰ In the place

of the novitiate wing's general sickroom, the infirmary has a specialized space for those who are gravely ill, a measure somewhat in keeping with Hildemar's commentary, which advises a series of rooms devoted to monks in various stages of illness. There is a separate residence for the on-staff physicians to the north of the infirmary, complete with a pharmacy, a ward for the critically ill, and an adjacent herb garden, which supplies the pharmacy. The *titulus* accompanying the kitchen space of the infirmary specifies that the facility ministers to both the ill and to those who are routinely being bled in the bloodletting house, which is positioned to the north of the infirmary's *coquina* and extravagantly furnished with four corner fireplaces.⁹¹

The mini cloisters of the novitiate wing and the infirmary, like the abbot's loggias, "quote" the foursquare structure of the monks' *claustrum* but retreat from re-creating precisely the esoteric dimensions of that emblematic ascetic space. In this instance, four large rounded arches mark the entryways into the cloister's green space, but they are interspersed with three-by-three repetitions of smaller arches. As was argued above, the arches in the abbot's loggias come in three-by-four-by-three groupings and the monks' cloister naturally occur in four-by-four reverberations. Again, the designer takes great care not to duplicate the foursquare perfection of the monks' cloister in any other section of the Plan.

The cloisters of the novitiate wing and infirmary are, symbolically speaking, restorative frames for the bodies of holy men in various states of ritual liminality, either on account of illness, dying, extreme youth, or even neophyte spiritual status. The Plan's author shrewdly shifts the spiritual underpinnings of the cloister-like compound: the Trinity (evoked by the three-by-three repetitions in the porticoes) is brought to bear on the bodies of those who do not possess full liturgical power (novices and oblates) or those who have lost their liturgical skill (the elderly, ailing, or dying). The three-by-three cloister thus is an architectural anecdote to imperfect spiritual status. Monks who are unable to master the Rule must be quarantined from those who are.

Similarly, the miniature basilica draws attention to the high status of this precinct devoted to diseased or novice monks, but here too the creator of the Plan changes the structural mix in a number of ways. The most obvious alteration is the truncated nature of the sacred space: it is divided into two halves cut off from one another by a solid wall. The western sector is for ailing monks and the eastern is the reserve of the novices. The organization of space is similar to that of the major basilica, with its division between the

monks in the east (who assume the place of the novices) and the laity in the west (who parallel the sick). Yet the two chapels are less hierarchical in nature than is the superstructure of the abbey church: they lack the racetrack lineup of saints' altars; they each have only one altar space elevated by one step up (in contrast to the seven steps leading up to the basilica's main altar dedicated to Saints Mary and Gall); and they have no aisles as there is no accompanying lay presence (as opposed to the aisles in the abbey church, which are used to move pilgrims and invited guests toward the route to the crypt area). There appears, however, to be some sort of hierarchy implicit in the space, as each chapel is carved up into three zones of equal size: the apse area with its elevated altar, a midsection, which has two benches, and a third sector with no discernable seating. Horn and Born suggest that the midsection is the space reserved for the chanters, while the novices and the sick are positioned at the greatest distance from the altar, where the officiating priests stand.⁹² This would make sense from a ritual perspective as the spiritually imperfect would be cordoned off from the altar space, just as the laity is kept away from the sacred east end (the "head") of the main basilica.

In many respects, the twin complex of the novitiate wing and infirmary is a sister space of the abbot's residence. Like the *aula*, the compound for those sick in body and those (neophytes) impure in spirit is a paradoxical space, one that sends confused messages to the observer. Both sections (novitiate wing to the south and infirmary to the north) are devoted to imperfect ascetics and both treat individuals who are more immersed in the body than are the monks who circulate in the perfected space of the foursquare cloister. The architecture makes the point brilliantly—in fact, better than any textual source could do. These are hybrid structures, fusing the monastic communal ethos (embodied in the cloister, dormitory, and refectory) with the *luxuria* of the more privatizing spaces of the Plan (the master's lodge, the corner fireplaces, the semiprivate privies). Both sides of the twin-complex house soft persons and meat-eaters: the sick and the very young. Like the dead in the common cemetery, these two groups are in transitional states, between disease and health, labile and virile. And the sick and the novices are closer to the lay elite on the Plan's monastic map because they routinely eat meat and indulge the body. Yet, unlike the lay elite, the soft natures of imperfect monks are encompassed by high-status architecture: porticoes, masonry walls, and green spaces. The degree to which the sick monk or neophyte ascetic is immersed in the body can be gauged through the visual politics of the Plan. Their weak and individualized bodies stand in stark contrast to the virile,

corporate body of the monks who traverse the enclosed space of the virtual cloister.

Gendering the Monastic Basilica

In order to conclude this excursion into the gendered spaces of the Plan of Saint Gall, it is useful to navigate the reader back through the spatial arrangements of the main basilica using liturgical status as a guide (Figure 6.18). Status in a Carolingian monastic community hinges on the ability to use the sacred voice in public, liturgical venues. Ascetics who lack liturgical voices (the sick, the weak, the very young, or the neophyte) are closer to the bestial, the slavish, the feminine, and the unconsecrated. Lay voices of all social and economic ranks are muted (at least in theory) within the entire sacred space of the basilica. Only ascetic men are given lodgings that adhere to the basilica: the porter, the magister of the pilgrim's hospice, the master of the school (the space informs the viewer that the head of the external school is a monk), visiting monks, and the foursquare practitioners of the cloister space, whose dormitory appears to materialize straight off the sacred south transept of the basilica. The key power spaces devoted to the monastic voice are the eastern apse, the area around the main altar, the choir space in the crossing square with its benches reserved for the community's classically trained chanters (the psalmodists), and the zone around the ambo. Monks open their mouths in pure speech within the basilica's most privileged spaces; the laity lack public mouths in these sacred districts. In contrast, lay mouths are gaping and uncontrolled in the residential and worldly zones of the Saint Gall complex; in the cloister, the corporate mouth of perfected monks is as sealed off as is the foursquare esoteric space of the *claustrum*.

The sections of the basilica open to the bodies of lay pilgrims are the side aisles, the area around the baptismal font up to the altar of the Holy Cross, and the crypt.⁹³ Horn and Born estimate that only one-sixth of the space of the basilica would house laypersons. The remaining five-sixths is the exclusive preserve of the monks.⁹⁴ Members of the laity of all ranks are squeezed into the two side aisles of the sacred edifice. Importantly, aisles were the location in early Christian basilicas (the models for Carolingian abbey churches) of the catechumens, or those receiving instruction in baptism, who were enjoined more to *hear* the mysteries of the faith rather than to *see* their enactment.⁹⁵ Clearly, the space of the Saint Gall basilica suggests that lay ears

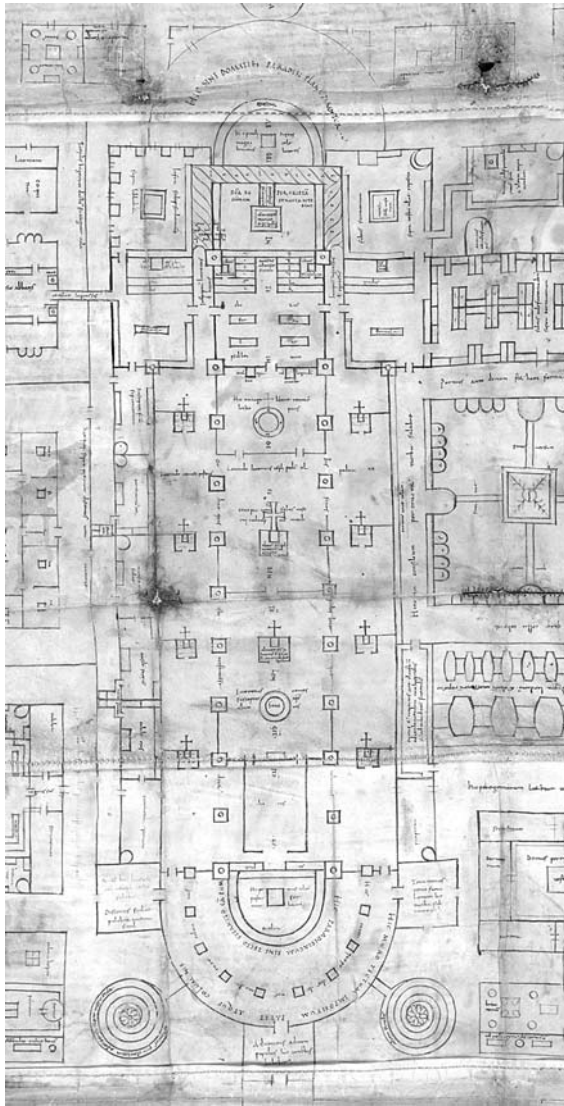


Figure 6.18. Basilica, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The altar lineup from west to east beginning with the north side of the basilica (to the viewer's left) consists of the Archangel Michael (round tower), Lucy and Cecilia, the Holy Innocents, Martin, Stephen, Philip and James; altars and liturgical sites situated in the central space of the basilica are Peter, monks' choir, baptismal font, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, Holy Cross, ambo, monks' choir, Benedict (to the left) and Columbanus (to the right), Gall and Mary, and Paul; the altar lineup on the south side of the basilica (to the viewer's right) includes the Archangel Gabriel (round tower), Agatha and Agnes, Sebastian, Mauritius, Laurence, and Andrew.

are passive orifices to divine speech. Even the body of an emperor—should he enter the space—would be shunted off passively toward the side aisles of the basilica (like a catechumen) as the architecture tells us that the monks do not reserve a special place for him just as he lacks a ceremonial, performative space of his own in the *domus* for invited guests.

The layman's view (like that of the catechumen in the early Roman church) of the hallowed east end of the basilica is partially obscured by both the repetition of columns and the series of railings blocking entry to the nave, which compartmentalize further the space, a characteristic feature of Carolingian monastic architecture. And the body of a pilgrim attempting to move from the western nave straight up to the sacred east end of the basilica would be blocked at a number of places by partitions. The space of the nave and the aisles thus inscribes secondary ritual status onto pilgrim bodies (even that of the emperor). Their route to the holy east end is circuitous and their ability to gaze directly into the sacred "head" of the basilica is impeded. In contrast, the monks and the abbot have well-articulated, linear entry points into the sacred east end of the basilica. The space thus flattens the bodies of its lay participants, just as the surveillance towers at the monumental front of the entire complex humble pilgrim bodies upon their entry.

In the western nave of the basilica, however, there are two key central spaces where the laity could infiltrate: the area surrounding the baptismal font up to the partition cordoning off the altar dedicated to the Holy Cross (Figure 6.19).⁹⁶ In Carolingian basilicas (like Fulda), the altar dedicated to the Holy Cross functions to mark the barrier between the lay zone (the world) and the monastic zone (the otherworld). This strategy is clearly in play at Saint Gall, where the liturgical space set aside for lay use is restricted to the western end of the basilica and limited to sectors where universal rites of passage, such as baptism, would be performed. Saint Peter, whose corporeal remains are housed in the western apse altar, allots the lay, performative space in the manner of a shepherd, as a *titulus* specifies.⁹⁷ The presence of a baptismal font suggests the participation of both women and men in the space—parents and godparents perhaps of the families who labor for the monks but do so outside the monastic complex or those of elite kin in the region.⁹⁸ The architectural footprint of a Carolingian basilica neither leaves a material trace of differentiation between the female and male users of the space nor reveals whether women were absent from or present in abbey churches. Nevertheless, historians have cited church legislation or saints' *vitae*

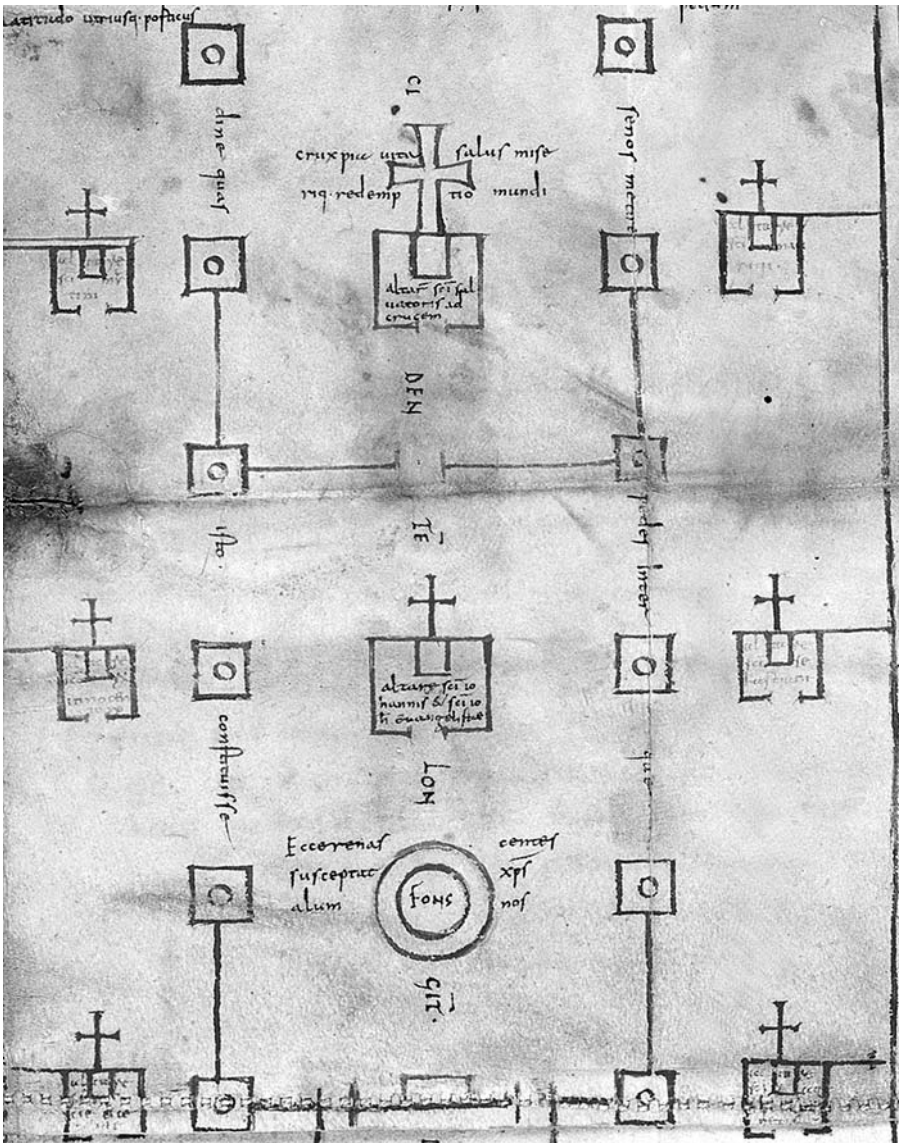


Figure 6.19. Central liturgical space for the laity, baptismal font up to the partition cordoning off the altar of the Holy Cross, Plan of Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The inscription around the baptismal font (*fons*) located at the bottom of the image reads: “See, it is here that Christ receives his reborn disciples”; the *titulus* accompanying the altar directly above the baptismal font says: “Altar of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist”; the inscription at the top surrounding the altar of the Holy Cross states: “Pious Cross: Life, Health, and Redemption of the wretched world” (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:21–22).

to make the case that most early medieval male monasteries categorically shut their doors to female visitors.

But was there resistance to such restrictions on both sides? In an important revisionist essay, Julia M. H. Smith asks “Did women obediently keep away?” and answers “Of course not.”⁹⁹ Hildemar of Civate concurs: he includes queens among the list of invited guests to the ninth-century monastery.¹⁰⁰ The Rule may allow for the mother of an oblate to be present at her son’s binding to the altar of the monastery, a ceremony that takes place in the sacred core of an ascetic complex (RB 59.1–2). The legislation of Aachen 817 permits the mothers and fathers of boy oblates to be present at the ritual binding of their children to the altar.¹⁰¹ Smith shows that there never was a universal or systematic policy banning women from saints’ shrines housed in male ascetic complexes. She argues that local practice or even the tastes of individual abbots might open the doors to female practitioners of saintly cults. The existence of a building strategy intended to keep the monks apart from visitors—in this case the Plan’s segregated lay entry points to the crypt—suggests extensive lay use of the structure. The corridor crypt of the Plan of Saint Gall is a building typology reserved for pilgrimage basilicas.¹⁰² As such its design intimates the presence of female devotees among the ranks of the pious laity. Yet women remain invisible both within the architectural footprint of these structures and in much of the secondary literature. Scholars, including Horn and Born, prefer to use sex neutral terms, “pilgrims,” “laity,” “visitors,” or sexist language, such as “laymen,” which, in the 1970s, could include women, rather than plunge into a discussion of the possibility of female bodies in male cultic spaces.

The lineup of Saint Gall’s virtual altars also supports the assertion that certain male monasteries in the Carolingian Empire had more permeable boundaries than one might think. As at Fulda, where monastic leaders strove to sex-segregate the relics of saints, the gendered arrangement of the Saint Gall altars is enlightening.¹⁰³ The assemblage parallels the altar positions of another well-known Carolingian male house, Saint-Riquier (ca. 800), but the Plan changes the mix.¹⁰⁴ Whereas Saint-Riquier’s altars enshrine only male body parts (save the three dedications to the asomatous, masculine archangels Raphael, Michael, and Gabriel, located in the western lay zone of the basilica), the author of the Plan adds female relics. Surrounding the baptismal font in the western zone are the corporeal remains of Roman women martyrs: Saints Lucy and Cecilia to the north and Saints Agatha and Agnes to the south. The female martyrs clearly serve as celestial sponsors of the infants

being baptized, because Christians considered martyrdom to be a baptism by blood. In fact, Agnes is the great child martyr herself, for as the fourth-century pope Damasus writes in a verse *titulus* he wrote for her, the young girl jumped off the lap of her nurse and straight into the menacing arms of an executioner.¹⁰⁵

Once a pilgrim moves beyond the baptismal space, she or he confronts another altar consecrated to the Holy Innocents (the children slaughtered by Herod the Great; see Matthew 2.16–18), who, like the helpless baby subjected to salvific waters, were deemed “will-less martyrs,” that is, passive participants in the Christian cult.¹⁰⁶ The Innocents therefore participate in the ritual process being performed on children in the western, lay-orientated nave. Directly in front of the font is an altar consecrated to John the Baptist (the evangelical stand-in for an ascetic priest) and to the immediate right of the spectator is another sacrificial table devoted to the martyr Sebastian, whose early medieval cult was renowned for its apotropaic qualities, including the power to ward off disease. It is quite a theatrical, heavenly ensemble, one framing events around the baptismal font and aimed at infants.

When a layperson crosses the space devoted to baptism or the partitioned area to the west of the altar of the Holy Cross, she or he is immediately thrust into the side aisles of the basilica, and the direction taken (north versus south) depends on social and economic rank. When the pilgrim departs from the lay liturgical space—bounded as it is by the relics of numinous children, female martyrs, an evangelical baptizer, and an apotropaic male martyr—the altar dedications metamorphose into an all-male retinue composed of monks, martyrs, and apostles. Thus, the closer one gets to the sacred east end, the more militantly masculine the space becomes. The north aisle is flanked by altars dedicated to ascetic superhero Martin of Tours and Stephen, the proto-martyr; the south aisle is bordered by the martyrs Mauritius and Laurence. In the crossing, there is an altar set aside for Saint Benedict (north) and another for the ascetic missionary Columbanus (south), making it clear that this is prime space for the monastic liturgy, as the relics of celebrated monks frame the choir area. In the north arm of the transept, there stands an altar to the apostles Philip and James; to the south, another altar is the preserve of the apostle Andrew. The high altar is a sex hybrid: it is dedicated to both Mary (the mother of Jesus) and the patron and founder of the (virtual) basilica, the hermit Gall (Figure 6.20). It is the only altar that brings together female and male saints. The main altar marks the subterranean space of the crypt located directly below—with its mucky, chthonic, and feminine under-

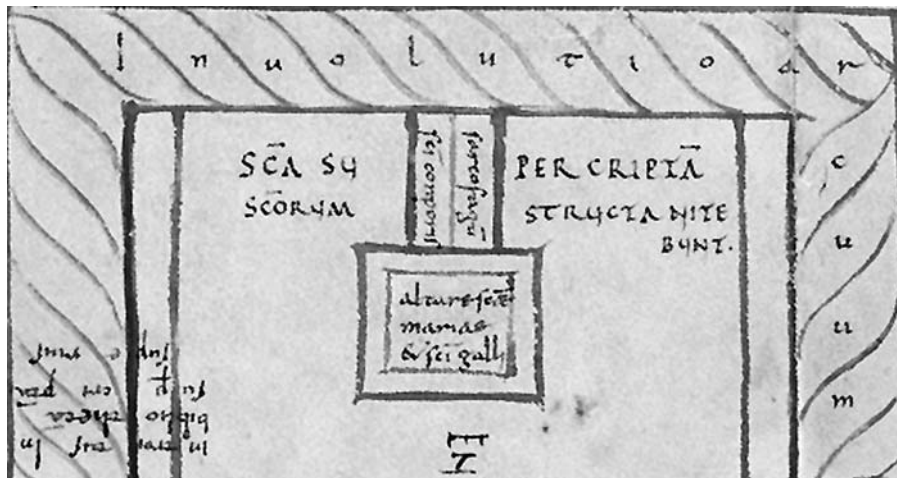


Figure 6.20. Altar dedicated to Saint Gall and Saint Mary, crypt, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* on the crypt altar reads: “Altar of St. Mary and St. Gall” (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:29).

world. The crypt is a contagious space where monks encounter pilgrims, the latter including both male and female votaries of the cult. As a place of contagion, the crypt has lesser status on the Plan than does the western apse dedicated to Peter—a space off limits to the laity.¹⁰⁷

In all, the lineup of saints’ altars in the basilica provides visual cues as to the gendered uses of the space, and these numinous prompts indicate places where male and female, as well as masculine and feminine (that is, consecrated and unconsecrated) collide. Gender even structures the entire edifice: angels, who are neither male nor female, frame the dangerous threshold space of the monumental entrance, an opening to the outside world. The message sent by the angelic towers may very well be that the cult of the dead has the potential to cut through the sex divide, as Barbara Rosenwein argues.¹⁰⁸ A male apostle, Peter, is the first human saint encountered in the space (from the perspective of the entering lay woman or man), but his altar is off limits to the non-consecrated, who take the annular gallery to enter the basilica on either the north (invited) or south (uninvited) aisles. In so doing, unconsecrated (feminized) bodies are blocked from penetrating the masculine zone of the western apse. The next encounter with saintly bodies occurs in the most carnal sector of the basilica—the western nave’s space reserved for a

major rite of initiation for all Christians: baptism. In this universalizing rite, the lay participants are protected by the apotropaic powers of infants and females as well as male martyrs and ascetics.

From this limited foray into the sacred center of the nave, the space ushers the lay body to the side aisles according to class (north/wealthy; south/impooverished). This route represents the introduction of earthly hierarchies into the otherworldly space of the basilica. The consecrated patriarchy re-emerges in full vigor as the sides of the nave are lined with the relics of militant male martyrs and self-abnegators. The female presence in the eastern zone vanishes altogether. The holy dead thus mirror the monks who move in the nave, the western apse, and the sacred eastern end of the basilica, the spaces devoted to the voices of God's cantors. In contrast, the entire sacred edifice sends a different message to the lay body (even that of a nobleman or king). Lay bodies are humbled in the space, contrasting with the erect bodies of liturgical impresarios, from the surveillance capacity of the twin round towers to the horizontal lengthening of the nave area to the sequestering of pilgrims to the sides and to the segregated entryway into the crypt area. Inferior status within the theatrical space devoted to the divine eye (materialized in the basilica by the abbot's panoptic position at the "head" of the eastern apse) is thus inscribed on the bodies and spatial habits of the laity.

As such, the basilica and monastery drawn on the Plan are gendered spaces or spaces that foster, enhance, or reflect the gendered practices of the Rule. They are equally visual exegeses of the Rule, as key features of the spaces function as memory prompts for ascetic precepts. The Plan also testifies to the triumph of monastic orthopraxy over textual orthodoxy, since its many buildings are at odds with the decrees of the Aachen councils or suggest practices beyond those mandated by the letter of Benedict's Rule. A gendered reading of the virtual monastery depicted on the Plan of Saint Gall demonstrates the degree to which visual sources fostered monastic power in the Carolingian Empire. Notably, perfect, foursquare space—the subject of the final chapter of this book—had emerged in the ninth century as emblematic of the singular sphere of ascetic authority.

Chapter 7

Foursquare Power

Hrabanus Maurus's acrostic poem *In Honor of the Holy Cross* invites the viewer's gaze to move along the contours of the body of the Crucified One, from the base of the right foot, up to the middle of the thigh, and ending at the left heel (*figura* 1; see Plate 4).¹ The route is not accidental. It is imposed by the artist, who guides the reader's eye by means of the acrostics layered on Christ's body and its parts. Since Christ is the Word, Hrabanus dresses him up in letters. On Christ's contours, Hrabanus writes a verse: "The Eternal Lord led the blessed ones to the stars."² Christ's feet and legs thus are symbolic footpaths to the heavens for the spectator of Hrabanus's poem. Moreover, there are four other pathways around the salvific body, from head to trunk to arms to fingers. Each course is signposted by biblical narratives or theological truths—prompts for monastic memory and framed in Latin verse. On Christ's halo, Hrabanus places an apocalyptic title, "King of Kings and Lord of Lords" (Revelation 17.14, 19.16).³ On the Savior's hair the artist scatters: "Behold, the King of Justice."⁴ Christ's face, chin, chest, and navel work together to frame the legend "Just order by God."⁵ The three arms of the small cross extending from the top and sides of the Messiah's head exhibit the Greek letters α , μ , ω , markers of the beginning, the middle, and the end, eons that the Crucified One contains within himself.⁶

Christ's head encapsulates the cosmological rule of God as well as the Savior's mastery over time. The movement of the viewer's eyes along the curves and lines of Christ's body is akin to the virtual pilgrim's navigation of the basilica on the Plan of Saint Gall. Both works of art display within their forms the history of salvation, from head to foot. Hrabanus's verses etch the creative and royal attributes of the deity onto Christ's head. The Plan manifests divinity most powerfully in the panoptic spaces of the elevated eastern

apse, a site representing the divine eye manifested on earth through the abbot's power of surveillance. In the figural poem, Christ's feet notionally move his votaries to the stars, while the "foot" of the Plan's basilica is the chief space of the laity, who are in training for celestial ascent, symbolized by their movement to the aisles of the left and right sectors of the nave where they access the crypt space, or the metaphorical "guts" of the divine body. Lay pilgrims, however, remain outside the *caput* spaces of the eastern apse and choir, as the basilica's sacred "head" is an exclusive ritual theater for monks.

In the Carolingian monastic imagination, Christ's body marks the division between the consecrated and unconsecrated. As Hrabanus writes in his *Explanations of Leviticus*, the Savior's feet represent common humanity while his head—personified on earth by the anointed bodies of priests—signifies divinity.⁷ In his acrostics Hrabanus identifies the "foot" zone of the cross as a space reserved for Christ's poor. In contrast, the "head" region is the abode of those who have suffered for Christ and are already gazing toward Olympus, a reference to the cult of martyrs, who inhabit the altars in Carolingian monastic basilicas.⁸

Moving down Hrabanus's Christ from head to torso, the viewer notices more earth-centered activities or the wondrous effects of the crucifixion. The acrostic illuminating the path from the middle finger of the right hand to the index finger, on to the thumb, and then back along the right arm and terminating at the summit of Christ's head declares that "Jesus created everything by the right [hand] of the highest God."⁹ Reversing direction from the Savior's head, and ending at the index finger of the left hand, Hrabanus writes: "Christ will loosen debts on behalf of the world with his own blood."¹⁰ Proceeding on from the fourth finger of the right hand (called the *medicus* in classical texts and in Hrabanus's poem), on to the little finger, under the arm, and descending on the flank straight down to the middle of the stomach, departing again from the right knee, and finishing up at the ankle, the poet adds: "Placed thus on the cross, [Christ] is dispersing the chains of tyranny."¹¹

These verses honor the right side of the numinous body, which commemorates Christ's triumph over evil; the sinister side memorializes the torments of the passion with an eye toward their future salvific outcome. Hrabanus's preference for the right addresses a larger, early medieval liturgical culture in which the right signifies divinity (and masculinity) and the left personifies carnality (and femininity).¹² The basilica depicted on the Plan of Saint Gall similarly favors the right side, which is the site of the abbot's

private entryway as well as the area reserved for elite invited guests. The left side is the exclusive preserve of the impoverished guests. Monks show their natural affinity with Christ's poor by sharing the left side with them, but their true place is at the basilica's "head," the liturgical space of the eastern apse.

The left foot-to-thigh region completes the task begun by its right counterpart—moving the souls of the blessed up into the heavens. In the verses placed on the left side of the body, from heel to hand, Hrabanus clarifies this teleology: "And God has given the salubrious crown in the ark of heaven."¹³ Across Christ's loincloth, Hrabanus engraves an elegiac couplet: "With a little vestment, this [man] is being covered, he who contains the stars and encloses the entire universe with the palm of his hand."¹⁴ Finally, the Fulda poet creates nipples and a navel for the Crucified One by dispersing the letters *d*, *e*, *o* (the *d* and *e* forming nipples and the *o* an umbilicus) across the holy torso. This imaginative artistic act allows Hrabanus to stress Christ's human nature (birth/umbilicus; feeding/nipples) to offset the head-centered acrostics (detailed above) underscoring his divinity.¹⁵ This coupling of the human and divine squares nicely with the Plan's liturgical area, a ritual locus for rites of passage into the Christian community located on the torso-like section of the basilica's symbolic body. Carolingian monastic authors equated building with holy body and ascetic body with sacred space, as Chapter 5's discussion of the Michael Rotunda at Fulda attests.

The verses written on Christ's fingers, stomach, loincloth, and nipples also suggest a variety of meditative and pedagogical functions. In a demonstration of classical *paideia*, Hrabanus compels his viewer to contemplate Christ's fourth finger, the so-called *medicus*, revered in Roman antiquity for its use in applying salve to sick bodies or for collecting therapeutic plants.¹⁶ The *medicus* is an appropriate (and classicizing) bodily member to attract the eye of an erudite spectator, and one illuminating Christ's role as a physician of souls.¹⁷ Moreover, the "little vestment" shielding the divine pudenda from profane gaze takes the reader directly into the realm of the Torah, a field of biblical studies in which Hrabanus possessed special expertise. The poet explains that the garment signifies the divine law wrapped in carnal guist.¹⁸ Thus Hrabanus's word scattering across Christ's loins stimulates knowledge of the doctrine of the incarnation in the learned reader: that is, how an asomalous divinity represented by the part of the Savior's body shielded from human gaze received the fleshly wrapping of the Word.

Furthermore, Hrabanus veils God's phallus from human eyes, just as the curtains of the tabernacle mask the deity and his bodily members. The image of the Crucified One reflects the divisions of space of the Hebrew tabernacle: the *heikhal* (the more accessible, priestly outer room in the east) and the *devir* (or the interior shrine, oriented to the west, and off-limits to all save the high priest). In fact, Hrabanus structures his "little work" (*opusculum*) on the Holy Cross with the measurements of the tabernacle—dimensions dictated directly by God. Hrabanus's twenty-eight *figurae* stand for the tabernacle's tapestries, which measured twenty-eight cubits (Exodus 36.9), and which shielded the divine being from mortal inspection.¹⁹ In Hebrew scripture, the Deity conceals the divine body from all humans save the most exalted prophets, such as Moses, who sees God's back (Exodus 33.21–23), and Ezekiel, who fixes his eyes on the loins of the Eternal only to perceive a "gleam as of amber—what looked like a fire encased in a frame" (Ezekiel 1.26–27). As the Torah teaches, any human who looks into the face of God will die (Exodus 33.20). Although the prophet Ezekiel makes out the figure of a human sitting upon a throne, his ability to perceive distinct body parts is blocked by the brilliance of fire and glittering gems, yet another trope for the obscured interior of the holy of holies, which is veiled by a curtain of smoke created by fiery incense.²⁰ In Hrabanus's poem, this sort of visual tease—veiling and unveiling—works as a central, organizational theme with exegetical roots in Hebrew scripture.

In his image of Christ, the Carolingian artist both screens the divine phallus from human gaze and simultaneously reveals its glorious nature and function through the agency of the letters scattered across the loincloth. It is a fitting combination for the Son of God, who fuses divine and human attributes and who is himself the Word. The spectator of Hrabanus's poem consequently becomes like a privileged Hebrew prophet: a human being who enjoys intimacy with God. The tabernacle model is also an appropriate paradigm for the Carolingian monastic basilica, which is divided up between those who have an unimpeded view of its most hallowed spaces (the abbot and his *honestiores*) and those whose gaze is consistently blocked (the laity).

The acrostic poem on Christ's loincloth ("with a little vestment, this [man] is being covered, he who contains the stars and encloses the entire universe with the palm of his hand") also partakes of imagery from the great book of God's suffering servant Job (9.7), which describes the Eternal as "[He] who seals up the stars." This exegetical reading equally prompts a memory of God's instruction to the patriarch Abraham: "Look toward heaven and count the stars if you are able to count them . . . so shall your

descendants be" (Genesis 15.5). For Hrabanus those stars were future Christian souls born through the potency of Christ's preaching. In keeping with this "sexed" interpretation of the divine body, the poet directs his reader's gaze to the Savior's potent loins, shielded as they are by a scarlet covering, and functioning as esoteric manifestations of salvific speech. In a later exegetical work, the commentary on Leviticus (ca. 820), Magister Hrabanus would go a step further and provoke his class of future scholars with a simple question: "What is the Word, if not semen?"²¹

Thus poet and exegete of the Word equates mouth with phallus and evangelical language with enthusiastic—and productive—ejaculation, exegetical strategies resonating with the Benedictine Rule's power pyramid based on the purity of the monastic mouth and the reproductive powers of liturgical speech. It is possible then to interpret Hrabanus's word scattering as a visual marker of this seminal facet of priestly speech ("What is the Word if not semen?"). Early medieval medical experts, building off the classical corpus of texts, believed that semen and public discourse originated in the same place: in a physiological arena both are reckoned as "drops of the brain." Equally, musings on esoteric—and sexed—scriptural discourse parallel the phallic mysticism of the early rabbis, who taught that the mouth was the organ of Torah dissemination and that the rabbinic body was a storehouse of the powers of scripture.

Figura 11 of Hrabanus's acrostic poem visualizes this rabbinical system by creating a cosmic body with each book of the Torah as its parts (*Figure 7.1*). Hrabanus conceives of the Torah as five squares, each one containing poetic verses relating to the book of the Torah featured in the square. Like Christ, Torah has a head (Genesis), right arm (Exodus), left arm (Numbers), guts (Leviticus), and feet (Deuteronomy).²² The Torah, echoing the positioning of Christ's body in *figura 1*, also stands in for the cross of the crucifixion itself.²³ The right and left designations for Exodus and Numbers are part of a larger theme of the symbolism of left and right in both *In Honor of the Holy Cross* and *De rerum naturis*. Women are connected with the left; men with the right; Jews with the left; Christians with the right; the Old Testament with the left; the New with the right. The position of Exodus at the right stems from an exegetical tradition of the "right hand" of God guiding the sons of Israel to the Promised Land. In contrast, Numbers at the left derives from the book's description of ancient Israelite military engagement with the evil troops of Core, Datan, and Abiud, who were subsequently trumped by the power of the Lord.

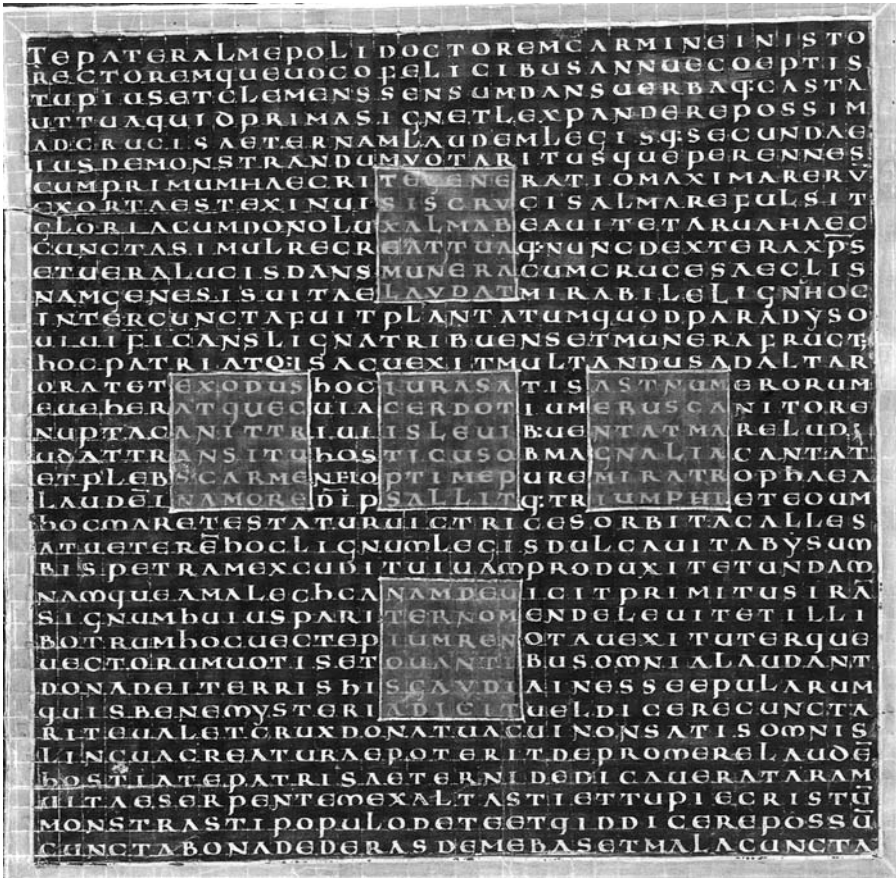


Figure 7.1. Torah as a body, with Genesis as head, Exodus as right arm, Numbers as left arm, Leviticus as guts, and Deuteronomy as feet. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, MS Reg. lat. 124, fol. 18v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

In *figura* II, the poet situates his exegetical method within the realm of Jewish mysticism and its doctrine of the incarnate Torah.²⁴ According to this exegetical scheme, priestly and rabbinical bodies are, like the Torah and the Crucified One, scriptural entities. Moreover, in the late ancient rabbinical world, oral pedagogy is equated with the phallus's ability to expel semen. Simultaneously, leaking Torah in inappropriate spaces (such as the public forums of the "whorish" Roman Empire) is a form of verbal masturbation.²⁵ Like the rabbis of late antiquity who symbolically marry the Torah and con-

vey its message to believers, Hrabanus looks to the Carolingian priestly body as a warehouse of the Word and the priestly mouth as a reproductive orifice, one mirroring the properties of the fertile Godhead itself.²⁶

Hrabanus goes so far as to envision Christ as a celestial orifice: "Christ is the mouth of God [*os Dei*] since he is God's Word."²⁷ The verse and prose riffs accompanying the *figura* of the Crucified One layer the hallowed body with numerous titles in addition to cosmic mouth. Among the many biblical and exegetical names (immaculate victim, self-sacrificing altar servant, bridegroom), Hrabanus includes some rather intriguing designations: the door (*ostium*) to the Godhead, the vile "worm" (*vermis*), the soaring eagle (*aquila*), who returns to the stars after the resurrection, and the learned magister.²⁸ In Hrabanus's inventive work, Christ assumes the guise of a number of ascetic characters encountered in earlier chapters of this book. The Savior is like Hildemar's headmaster—an intellectual portal to the celestial mysteries. He is also akin to the young love object of an older monk's affections, such as Alcuin's lofty "eagle." Moreover, Christ shares a nature with the perfected monk, whose intense humility flattens him "wormlike" (*vermis*) to the ground. The boy oblate offered at a monastery's altar as a holocaust victim evokes Christ as immaculate sacrifice. Finally, Smaragdus's imagined lover, the celestial groom, is yet another manifestation of the Crucified One, who embraces his ascetic bride in a nuptial chamber, itself a metonymy for the foursquare cloister and its erotic politics. Hrabanus's poem gives a monk license to gaze at the exposed body of his heavenly groom.

This visual exegesis can be read as meditative object, biblical commentary, and even spatial practice. The poet's *figurae*—and their accompanying *tituli*—perform at a more intense level of allegory what the Plan of Saint Gall and the Michael Rotunda at Fulda achieve: the mapping of the contours of the faith onto material media, which then serve as cues for monastic memory systems. Christ's cross—and its praises—is the pillar holding up Hrabanus's mystical house, just as the cemetery church at Fulda endures due to the efficacy of one column and the ascetic culture of fraternal accord it represents.²⁹ As Brun Candidus instructs, Christ is Fulda's cornerstone and the abbey's monks are its building blocks.

Moreover, like the symbolic program of a Carolingian basilica, Hrabanus's *figurae* present the entire history of salvation, from the Creation to the incarnation and from the age of martyrdom to the apocalypse. As further evidence of the encyclopedic nature of *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, the author features twenty-eight *figurae*, and, in a later work, he explains that this eso-

teric number represents the fusion of Hebrew and Christian scriptures.³⁰ In the acrostic poem, Hrabanus notes that the significance of the number twenty-eight lies in the fact that it is a perfect number, and, as such, it points to the total perfection of things.³¹ Twenty-eight represents the sum of one plus two plus four plus seven plus fourteen, integers with theological import in Hrabanus's exegetical corpus. Numerical perfection is built right into the entire structure of *In Honor of the Holy Cross* to dizzying effect just as the designer of the Plan of Saint Gall scatters theological numbers, seven, four, and three, throughout the monastery's spaces.³² This numerological scheme makes the same point as the esoteric poetry—Hrabanus's figural poem is a sort of exegetical "cabinet of curiosities," which houses all the mysteries of the faith.

As noted above, twenty-eight also illuminates the spatial signification of *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, as the tabernacle's tapestries measured twenty-eight cubits (Exodus 36.9), and, by extension, Hrabanus's acrostic is a work of the same scale and mystery. Hrabanus's poem is a "virtual tabernacle." The tabernacle with its ritually pure priesthood, the precursor of Carolingian monks, is a theme in Hrabanus's poem as evidenced by *figura* 4's depiction of the winged seraphim, Isaiah's fiery angels, and the cherubim, the celestial guardians of the ark located in the holy of holies, posed by the artist in the manner of the Crucified One (Plate 5). The poet shows his viewer the fiery seraphim (the two top angels floating above the arm of the cross), who partially veil their bodies with their six wings and offer the viewer a stunted crucifixion posture, as they are signifiers of the first covenant and its incomplete law. In contrast, the cherubim assume a full-blown crucifixion pose as is appropriate for their role as personifications of the post-incarnation second covenant.³³ This veiling and unveiling ties in nicely with Hrabanus's image of the Crucified One himself, with his bare torso (a trope for the visible, preaching God of the gospels) and his shrouded genitalia (Torah narratives in which prophets avert their gaze). With its fusion of Hebrew and Christian esotericism, restructured through classical poetic forms (heroic hexameter, elegiac couplets, palindromes), *In Honor of the Holy Cross* can be read as an encyclopedic work, much like the Plan of Saint Gall or Hrabanus's last great compilation, *De rerum naturis*. The poem exhibits the author's mastery over human and divine knowledge on a world scale. *Figura* 1's portrait of the Crucified One speaks to this cosmic theme: the Savior's hands extend beyond the frame of the acrostic, making it clear that his dominion reaches both the visible and invisible worlds (see Plate 4).

This chapter argues that Hrabanus's *In Honor of the Holy Cross* is an imperialistic composition, one designed to moor the foursquare universe in the foursquare space of the cloister.³⁴ In so doing, the poem exemplifies the Carolingian aesthetic of bricolage, itself a hegemonic venture based on collecting classical, biblical, and ascetic arcana. Moreover, this chapter interprets the gendered and spatial practices of the monastery more fully within the world of biblical allegory. Because of its complex nature, *In Honor of the Holy Cross* demands from the reader a great deal of exegetical, visual, and literary skill, intellectual talents possessed by a small group of Carolingian scholars and shared by professional court readers and their elite lay "hearers." The scholarly culture of the monastery operates as the intermediary between these two spheres. Analyzing the allegorical works of writers like Hrabanus exemplifies how Carolingian intellectuals created a cosmological image of the monastic body that triumphs, at least in the realm of textual and visual artifacts designed to promote spiritual authority, over its lay counterpart. Finally, Hrabanus's acrostic poems are part of the virtual spirituality characteristic of other works of Carolingian art, including the Plan and the monastic mazes drawn on ninth-century manuscripts produced at Reichenau and Saint Gall but later exported to the floors of major cathedrals.³⁵

Writing Christ

In Honor of the Holy Cross gives Hrabanus Maurus an artistic arena on which "to write" Christ. Such "writing" is an empowering activity, because early medieval monks viewed the scribal arts as meditative acts, ones capable of vanquishing the devil through the crafting of scriptural letters or breathing life into theological precepts through the tracing out of mystical words.³⁶ A monk's ability to write Christ reverses Chapter 3's discussion of the male ascetic body as a blank parchment page onto which the heavenly finger etches spiritual truths. Through writing, monks take on the creative, scribal powers of the Godhead. The monastic talent of "writing Christ" belongs especially to gifted exegetes, such as the late eighth-century master of Revelation, Beatus of Liébana (in modern-day Spain), who regards written and spoken words as bodies: "The letter is the body of Christ, in reading and hearing it is eaten."³⁷ Beatus's paradigm of reading and eating Christ is in keeping with the monastic ethos: monks masticate the Word and chew on its mysteries. Carolingian mystic Paschasius Radbertus (d. ca. 860) concurs: "We feed daily upon

Christ's body and drink his blood by his power . . . being invigorated by tasting him we may be prepared for things immortal and eternal."³⁸ Hrabanus's work, with its focus on Christ's bloody passion, offers the monastic gourmand a dish of scriptural delicacies on which to feast.

Hrabanus's particular brand of "writing" Christ testifies to the extraordinary talent of this first-time Carolingian author. *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, written by a thirty-year-old Hrabanus, a newly consecrated priest, is a cross-cultural literary effort, one combining the poetic zeal of the Romans with the visual flair of late ancient masters of fourth-century acrostic design. Hrabanus's "heroic hexameter" (*hexameter heroicus*) finds its origin in the epic techniques of Lucan and Virgil, and his understanding of the complexities of meter and scansion stems from Lucretius. He cites Horace, whom he hails as a sagacious and learned man (*vir acutus et doctus*), on how to translate poetry, and he informs his readers that he learned to "scatter words" (as he does on the manuscript pages of his acrostic poem) from Optatian Porphyry, the controversial court poet of the fourth-century emperor Constantine.³⁹

The poem also is similar to the reified, Christ-centered acrostics of early medieval writers, including Venantius Fortunatus, Ansbert of Rouen, Boniface, Bede, Theodulf of Orléans, and Hrabanus's own magister, Alcuin, all of whom merge late ancient artistic forms with meditative spirituality. Hrabanus's tome is in fact a funerary memorial to Alcuin, who had died a decade before his *corvulus* ("little raven") had finished his poetic exegesis.⁴⁰ Although Hrabanus was Alcuin's heir as the master of the acrostic, his figural poem represents the most comprehensive example of the art of the *opus geminatum* from the early medieval era. Hrabanus may have begun his pioneering poems on the Holy Cross in Tours at Alcuin's "bird nest," but he completed the work at Fulda in the midst of the chaos sparked by the rule of Abbot Ratgar.⁴¹

The acrostic poem remained popular throughout Hrabanus's life (and beyond), as copies produced during his abbacy and under his supervision in the 830s and 840s attest.⁴² The dedicatory poems appended to the luxury editions of *In Honor of the Holy Cross* pass through the range of Hrabanus's target audiences: an intimate friend and fellow Fulda monk (Hatto), episcopal patrons (Haistulf and Otgar of Mainz), ascetic communities (the monks of Tours and Saint-Denis), an archbishop (Raoul of Bourges), popes (Gregory the IV and Sergius II), an emperor (Louis the Pious), and even a military potentate (Duke Eberhard of Friuli).⁴³ The structure and meaning of *In Honor of the Holy Cross* requires a learned eye to decipher. Clearly, Hrabanus

is pitching his poem at a narrow audience, but he did not preclude the gifted laity from among that choice group.

The Fulda poet fashions Christ in words and *figurae* in a religious environment where images were increasingly subject to close scrutiny as to their pedagogical uses and their spiritual perils.⁴⁴ In response, Hrabanus directs his audience's interpretation of the *figurae* by means of numinous letters cast about on the vellum page. *In Honor of the Holy Cross* is not a work "left to its own devices—it is one controlled and bridled by scripture."⁴⁵ The author does not allow his readers' eyes to follow the contours of Christ's arms, legs, and trunk on their own; he gives them a verbal map of the divine body. Obviously, uninhibited gazing at the divine *membra* is being discouraged, though allegorical contemplation is licit, at least for monastic elites (the *honestiores*) who have ventured out of the body's underworld and into the world of divine speech. Moreover, the poet cautiously places the images on the inauspicious left (the verso page), while words occupy the auspicious right (the recto page).⁴⁶ In all, word scattering thwarts accusations of idolatry or visual recklessness in an era sensitive to the dangers of illicit gazes or inappropriate meditations on artistically compelling images.⁴⁷

Upon closer inspection of Hrabanus's figural poem, however, the viewer is left with the impression that there are not that many anthropomorphic or zoomorphic images in this work, as most of the *figurae* take the shape of geometric patterns. It is a strategy shared by early medieval Muslim artists who created visual meditations on the Qur'an in geometric or calligraphic forms in obedience to religious bans on figural representations or to alleviate anxieties over a painter's ability to usurp the creative powers of Allah, the sole fashioner of human bodies.⁴⁸ In all, there are twenty-eight images in Hrabanus's celebrated *opus geminatum*. Of these, four are more or less figural representations, or "enfleshed" images (the Crucified One, the four seraphim and cherubim, the iconographic signifiers of the four evangelists, and Hrabanus as holocaust offering). The remaining twenty-four illustrations are abstract and take the form of or dwell in squares. Like Hrabanus's poetic images of Christ, the cross is a "shape-changer," moving fluidly from square to triangle to circle to flowering rod to Greek letters scattered across the page.

The figures of the angels, the Crucified One, the four evangelists, and the penitent Hrabanus hit the high points in the linear narrative of salvation history: tabernacle cult, passion, apostolic mission, and apocalypse. Importantly, monks, represented here by the humble Hrabanus dressed in simple robes (*figura* 28), take center stage at the onslaught of the *eschaton* (Plate 1).

After all, Carolingian practitioners of the Rule envisioned themselves as the natural end point of a long history of Christian asceticism. Hrabanus's four-square cross encapsulates—and directs—this teleological progression from the creation of the visible world to a monastic-centered vision of its destruction at the end of days, visualized here by the figure of Hrabanus's body as a fiery sacrifice. The cross is, like Christ's spine, a mystical column holding up God's house.⁴⁹

Hrabanus's *axis mundi*, the cross, participates in the poet's four-squared acrostics, as the cross's arms cordon off each of the twenty-eight verso images into neat, quadrangular units, which then serve as blank canvases for imaginative invention. Even when images drawn on the vellum page do not take the shape of squares such as *figura 6*'s pyramid-like structures, they are placed within grid-like patterns or drawn in rectilinear lines (Figure 7.2).

Within these squared segments, Hrabanus positions a host of meditative objects designed to fuel his art of visual exegesis and to captivate his audiences. For instance, *figura 1*'s representation of Christ incarnate immediately gives way to an image of a cross without a body (*figura 2*). In *figura 1*, Christ's body forms the cross, which is noticeably missing from Hrabanus's idiosyncratic passion scene; in *figura 2*, a bare cross is bereft of a holy body (Figure 7.3). Yet Christ's body appears to haunt the empty space of *figura 2*'s bodiless cross, as the artist positions the letter *O* at the same spot where *figura 1* exhibits an umbilicus created by placing an *O* at the center of the Savior's torso. In the move from *figura 1* to *figura 2*, Hrabanus cleverly takes his viewer from carnal Christ to Christ visualized solely as the Word.

After this initial experimentation with the visual tease of "unveiling" (the exposed body on the cross) and "veiling" (no body on the cross), the artist plunges into a series of abstract images, only to be interrupted sporadically by their "enfleshed" counterparts at *figurae 4*, 15, and 28, markers of key points in salvation history. In the ultimate *figura* (28), the poet offers his own body as a "bookend" piece to that of Christ displayed in the opening acrostic. But in this final image, a penitent Hrabanus kneels under yet another bodiless cross. The intervening, twenty-four abstractions on the theme of the Holy Cross have done their work: the bare arms of a spare cross gradually have evolved into a familiar metonymy for the sacrificed god. It is a fitting device for telling the story of an invisible Godhead, who metamorphoses into an enfleshed Savior during the incarnation, only to disappear again into the heavens after the passion.

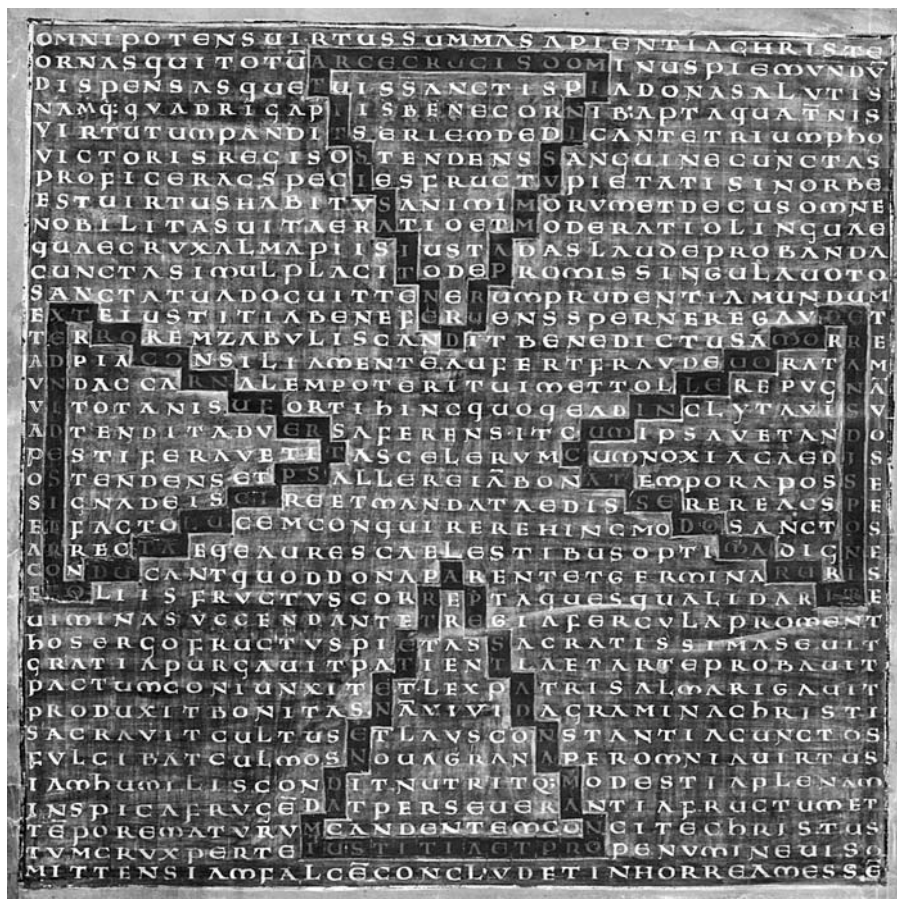


Figure 7.2. Four principal virtues inside of four pyramids. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 13v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Foursquare Imperialism

In his essential work on the history of Christian exegesis, Jesuit scholar Henri de Lubac singles out Hrabanus Maurus as the poetic genius of the early medieval cross: “[Hrabanus] plants the Cross of Christ at the center of everything, just as Virgil placed Orpheus in the middle of the cosmic cup . . . everything is encompassed, bound together, formed, ‘structured,’ and unified by this cross, even as everything is dominated by it.”⁵⁰ Like the mandala

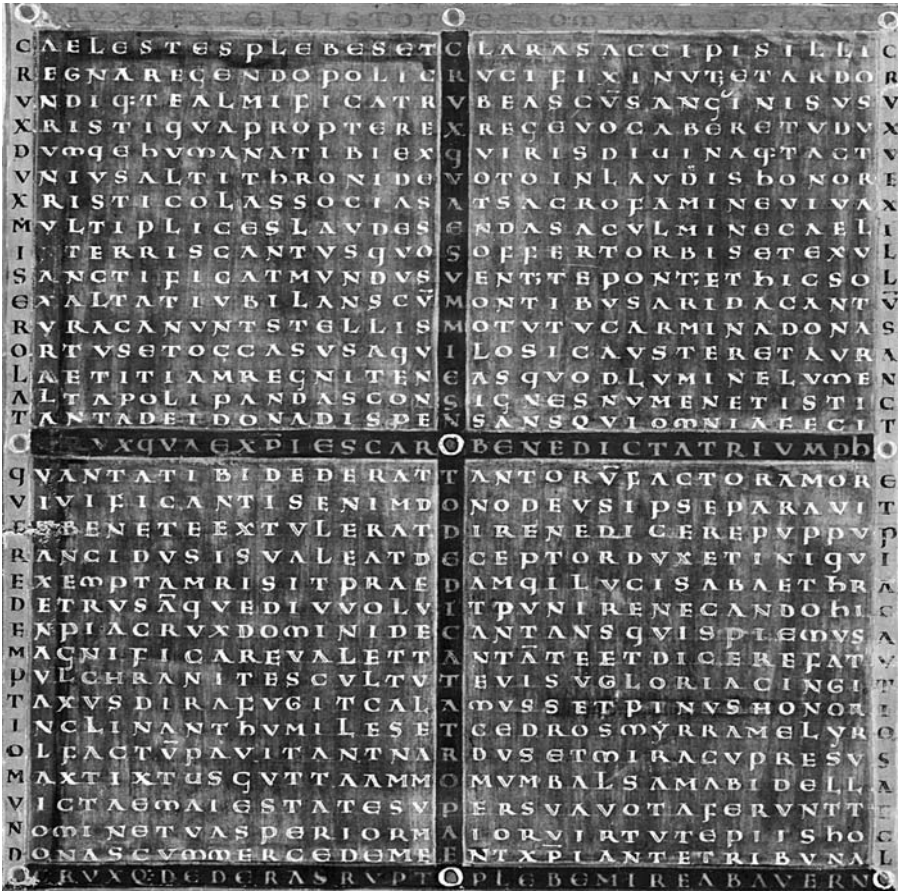


Figure 7.3. Cross without a body. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 9v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

motif of the “one thousand Buddhas” found in the cave sanctuaries of India, Central Asia, and China, where Buddhas appear to fill “every space, every pore, of the universe,” Hrabanus’s cross consumes the cosmos.⁵¹ The cross’s command over the visible and invisible cosmos appears in key *figurae*, and these images expose the foursquare, cloistered imperialism of Hrabanus’s shaped verses. Chapters 3–6 provide the background for understanding the foursquare politics of the Carolingian cloister. As Chapter 6 demonstrates, the designer of the Plan of Saint Gall takes great care not to emulate the perfect form of the foursquare monks’ cloister in the other arcaded spaces of

the monastic complex, even among the colonnades of the abbot's power loggias. Mooring perfect foursquare form onto any other part of the Plan's monastery—and that includes consecrated and lay spaces alike—appears to be a defiling and even audacious act within the context of Carolingian monastic spirituality. Or so the message being sent to the careful inspector of the Plan implies.

In Honor of the Holy Cross reverses this visual dynamic by making four-square space a sacred receptacle of the visible and invisible universe. In fact, Hrabanus's squared forms devour the entire cosmos. Nowhere is this more apparent than in *figura 5*'s visualization of squares within squares (Plate 3). The foursquare acrobatics are so acute in this figure that the poet features the passive verb *quadrari* ("to make square," "to quadruple"). For Hrabanus, these four-sided figures are paths to the astral landscape with Christ as numinous guide (*ductor optimus*).⁵² When joined with the poetic verses and prose interpolations of the text, Hrabanus's squares reveal the mysterious architecture of the heavens: God's house and the abode of the asomalous angels.⁵³ Equally, the verses inscribed on the parameters of the four squares collect the major historical epochs of the faith and its theological stages: the age of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs. Similarly, Carolingian monastic basilicas, like the one built at Fulda and the one depicted on the Plan, showcase the faith's movement from the Holy Land to the Frankish lands. In all, the four foursquare forms (*quattuor quadrangulas formas*) of Hrabanus's acrostics represent to the trained monastic or even elite lay eye memory prompts for biblical and post biblical history and virtual maps for celestial ascent.

Figura 5 is a striking example of a Carolingian mandala—a geometric design used by ascetics and mystics on a world scale to chart prayer rituals, to stimulate memory work, to initiate votaries, to engage in acts of virtual pilgrimage, and to visualize the state of enlightenment.⁵⁴ Mandalas are imbued with architectural meaning, as they correspond to sacred enclosures, temple spaces, or the mountainous abode of a deity. Moreover, mandalas move their creators into otherworldly realities, for as Martin Brauen explains, the "term 'mandala' can be applied to the whole cosmos," and often mandalas "are divided into four quadrants of equal size" and "built up of concentric circles (*'khor*) and squares."⁵⁵ In early medieval Japan, the esoteric "World Womb" mandalas of Pure Land Buddhism grant access to the sacred realm via four gates positioned at the four cardinal directions.⁵⁶ Esoteric practitioners in Buddhist and Hindu traditions also discover the human body

and the bodies of deities within the designs of mandalas. In many ways then, Hrabanus's foursquare *figurae*, with their interspersing of squared, circular, and anthropomorphic forms, fit Brauen's definition of a mandala.

Of course, Hrabanus's placement of the Crucified One (in fleshly form or in the guise of the bare cross) at the center of his twenty-eight mandalas brings his audience into a very different cosmological system than those found in the esoteric strains of Hinduism, Buddhism, or even Native American religions, though placing the deity at the center of a mandala or even the architectural blueprint of a temple is a common visual strategy within a variety of ascetic traditions.⁵⁷ Therefore, maintaining the theological and political integrity of the context informing Hrabanus's craft is critical (versus imposing a universal interpretation on that context). Understanding Carolingian monastic practice and spirituality within the larger venue of world esotericism, however, enables contemporary scholars to retrieve in part the heavily guarded technical features of ninth-century asceticism. By situating Hrabanus—and his narrow audience—within this world religions context, historians of monasticism are left with a very different portrait of the Carolingian cloister than is customarily presented in the secondary literature on the topic. This strategy has the additional benefit of conceptualizing Carolingian spirituality within the arena of world history, where the mandala can be read as part of a shared religious practice within a global context.

The backbone to the mandala displayed in *figura 5* is the cross of the crucifixion, which is etched with the following palindrome: "the glorious *crux Domini*—it is the foundation of Christ's church." The bottom-left square is inscribed with the verse "the laudable action of the patriarchs signifies you [O Cross]." The bottom-right square reads "and the people of the prophets [receive your] commands via divine utterance." The upper-left square contains "the troop of apostles extends your trophies [*tua . . . tropaea*] with due observance," while the upper-right exhibits "the chorus of martyrs achieves the same thing by dutifully pouring out their blood."⁵⁸ In these couplets, Hrabanus relegates the squares personifying Hebrew scripture to the bottom half of the space cordoned off by the cross, itself a metonymy for the lower section of Christ's body. Christian missionary activity—as embodied by the apostles and performed by the bloody martyrs—moves second-covenant holy men closer to the head level of the divine body. In so doing, the Fulda poet makes a visual point about carnal Israel, located in the lower regions of the cosmic body, a sector Hrabanus associates with the "earth" in his exploration of the four elements in *figura 7* (Plate 6). In contrast, Christ's phalanx, the

apostles and martyrs, are progressing mightily toward the Godhead symbolized here by the top of the cross, a zone *figura* 7 reserves for “fire.”⁵⁹

Hrabanus glosses *figura* 5’s excursion into the occult qualities of four-square space with Jesus’ teaching on marriage and procreation as signifiers of earthly attachments and the refusal to marry and produce heirs as a marker of otherworldly allegiance: “Those who are considered worthy of a place in that age and in the resurrection from the dead neither marry nor are given in marriage. Indeed, they cannot die anymore, because they are like angels [*aequales enim angelis sunt*] and are children of God, being children of the resurrection” (Luke 20.35–36).⁶⁰ As angelic creatures, Hrabanus’s Christians can look to their own bodies as blocks in a chain of pristine heavenly architecture, where they embody Christ, and Christ embodies them and their humanity, evidenced by the poet’s attention to the Savior’s nipples and umbilicus. In this instance, the squares materialize as esoteric human living stones forming the foundation of the various levels of the celestial *domus*, from earthly misogynists (such as the Fulda monks) to prophet and martyrs to the Godhead.⁶¹

The poet’s decision to gloss *figura* 5’s foursquare extravaganza with Luke’s discussion of resistance to marriage points to the ancient ascetic politics encoded within these Carolingian mandalas. Those who renounce carnality are already “like the angels” (*aequales enim angelis sunt*). More than six hundred years earlier, the Egyptian ascetic intellectual and controversial pedagogue Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185–254), whose writings Hrabanus frequently turned to in his public lectures on scripture, taught that Christians properly belonged to an invisible counterculture of angelic beings and virginal humans. Peter Brown expressively sums up the ethos of Origen’s late ancient Christian counterculture: “Bonds based on physical paternity, on physical love, and on social roles derived from the physical person seemed peculiarly evanescent when compared with the resonant unity of a universe that strained toward the embrace of Christ.”⁶² Echoes of this Origenist counterculture can be found in the ascetic landscape of the early medieval West. Julia Smith notes that the early medieval West lacked “indigenous eunuchism” and was thus devoid of a “professional” courtly caste of males who visibly resisted normative sexuality (defined in this context as the production of legitimate heirs).⁶³ Byzantine eunuchs were perfect—and celibate—imperial servants, dutiful ministers free and clear of family ties and, in theory, sexual tensions. As such, they could negotiate both sides of the sex divide and circulate in male and female spaces alike. Moreover, in the Byzantine liturgy, itself a sublime enactment of the litanies of the heavenly court, eunuchs took

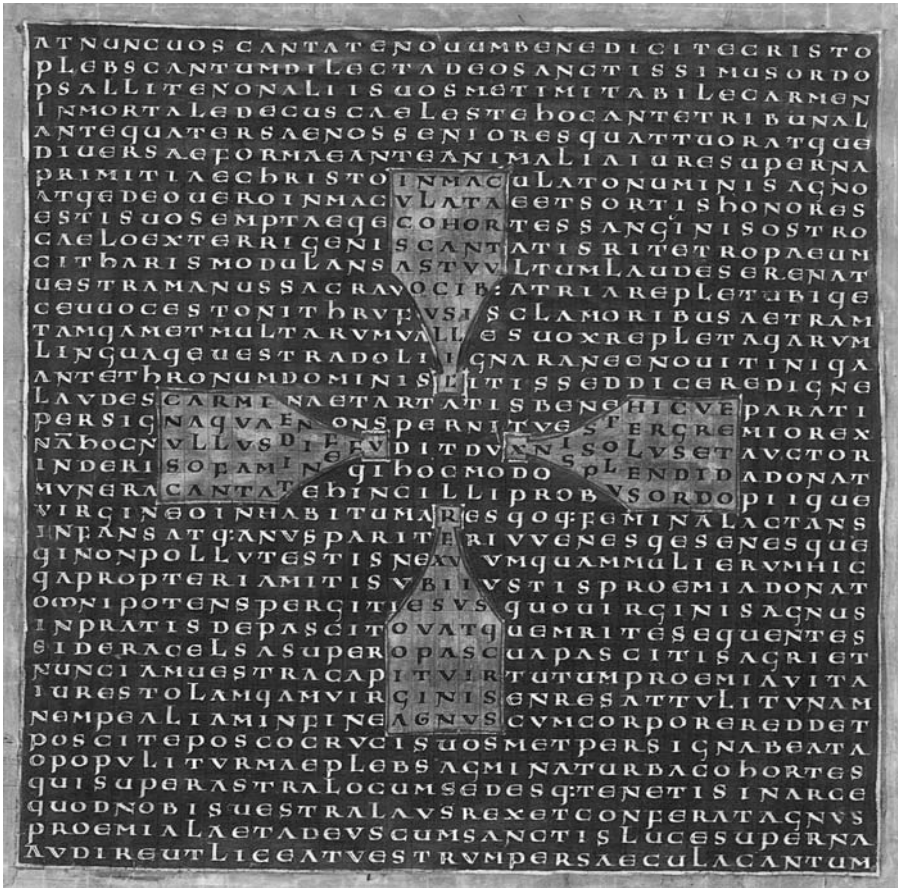


Figure 7.4. The 144,000 virgin martyrs of the apocalypse inside four pentagons. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 31v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

on the ritual roles of the angelic hosts. In the theater of the liturgy, eunuchs visibly breached the divide between the heavens and the earth.⁶⁴ In the Carolingian West, Hrabanus's *aequales angeli* stepped into that cosmic void.

In *figura* 24, Hrabanus pushes the Origenist paradigm of the inviolate bodies of spiritual “eunuchs” a step further (Figure 7.4). *Figura* 24 is a dense exploration of the number 144, carried out in an astounding feat of visual and verbal artistry: the 144 letters are distributed among four pentagons in which there are 36 letters each.⁶⁵ The mathematics involved is straightforward: $4 \times 36 = 144$. Moreover the letters *c*, *r*, *u*, *x* (standing in for the

invisible cross) yoke the four poems in the four pentagrams together (visually underscoring the cross's role as cosmic anchor). The biblical number 144 is intriguing especially with regard to the study of early medieval ascetic gender. Hrabanus summons the book of Revelation's martyr cadre of the early church (Revelation 7.4, 14.1–5), a second-covenant heir to the seed of Israel: "I will make your offspring as numerous as the stars of heaven and as the sand that is on the seashore" (Genesis 22.17). Hrabanus's scriptural model for monastic corporeal styles in *figura* 24 is Revelation's 144,000 virgin male martyrs of the apocalypse whose mouths and bodies remain free of impurity (Revelation 14.1–5).⁶⁶ The poet makes the connection between his four pentagons and Revelation's retinue of unblemished martyrs: Hrabanus's virgins are part of a most holy order (*sanctissimus ordo*), who chant a "new song" (*novus cantus*) in front of the heavenly throne, a lyric no one else is able to sing (*quod nemo alius potest canere*). They are possessors of "angelic chastity" (*angelicae castitas*), who make themselves into holocaust sacrifices to the Lord (*se Domino faciunt holocaustum*). These unblemished human sacrifices are bearers of the Lord's cross, following the slaughtered Lamb. Surprisingly, Hrabanus adds women to the ranks of the 144,000, something the author of Revelation does not do: "It is these [the 144,000] who have not defiled themselves *with women*, for they are virgins" (Revelation 14.4).⁶⁷ Hrabanus's celestial virgins hail from both sexes and all ages. The test of their status is that they remain alienated from fornication and its fruits. Hrabanus's apocalyptic retinue is clothed in the white raiment of martyrdom; their devotion to Christ manifests itself through their mouths, hearts, and the deportment of their bodies.⁶⁸ Therefore the body is the site—and a performative arena—for an individual's membership in the 144,000.

The verses written in the space of the four pentagons stress the somatic, liturgical, and anagogic implications of *figura* 24. The top pentagon reads "immaculate cohort [*cohors*], you sing in that place with full voice." In the bottom register, the verse identifies the location of this potent chant as "where Jesus the king triumphs; where the lamb of the Virgin feeds." To the left is written "the chant which one hears without being able to sing it" and to the right "your flock [*grex*] is numerous and your order is splendid in this world."⁶⁹ Hrabanus's chosen scriptural passages expose the elusive, imaginative landscapes of Carolingian monasteries. Both in the virtual world created by Hrabanus's acrostics and in the basilicas of Carolingian monasteries, chant takes on occult qualities, as do the immaculate bodies of chanters. Within the context of Carolingian monasticism, the female and male "eunuchs" of

the ascetic enterprise are candidates for Christ's *sanctissimus ordo*, as defined by Hrabanus in his verse and in his occult geometric patterns.

Figura 24's visual and verbal exegesis furthers this theme of spiritual "eunuchism." The author cites Galatians (4.27) on this exact point: "Rejoice, you childless one, you who bear no children, burst into song and shout, you who endure no birth pangs; for the children of the desolate woman are more numerous than the children of the one who is married."

To emphasize this idea, Hrabanus adds the prophet Isaiah (from whom the apostle Paul borrows) on the same subject: "And do not let the eunuch say, 'I am just a dry tree.' For thus says the Lord: to the eunuchs who keep my sabbaths, who choose the things that please me and hold fast my covenant, I will give, in my house and within my walls, a monument and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off" (56.3–5).

Finally, he adds a gloss from Luke (23.29): "Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bore, and the breasts that never nursed." As in *figura* 5's foursquare exploration of the celestial edifice built upon the "living stones" of pristine Hebrew and Christian bodies, these passages taken from Galatians, Isaiah, and Luke teach that numinous architecture, in this instance a monument residing in God's house, is the reward for spiritually fecund "eunuchs." The polemic is a powerful one and one well suited to professional ascetics who traverse the foursquare space of a cloister, which is a haven for celestial openings.

In spite of the rhetorical potency in these verses, Hrabanus displays anxiety concerning celibate status as well as an intensely competitive spirit. By grafting Isaiah's fertile eunuchs to his discourse on the 144,000 virgins of the apocalypse, the poet is declaring to his clerical and lay audiences that celibate women and men can surpass the power of their procreating lay peers to achieve immortality. The point is well-taken: an inability to memorialize oneself through the production of earthly heirs is clearly a perceived weakness within a political and economic culture dominated by kinship networks, alliances extending into the social world of Carolingian monasteries.⁷⁰ Indeed, this *figura* is in line with Carolingian monastic practice: male and female ascetic houses kept necrologies in which they inscribed the names of the deceased to pray for the dead.⁷¹ With its focus on the immortality of the 144,000, *figura* 24 is a battle cry in the competitive zone between worldly potentates (carnal begetters) and their cloistered counterparts (spiritually fecund "eunuchs"). In the monastery, chastity begets immortality. The names

of chaste monks, like “the Name” (Hebrew, *ha-Shem*) of the Eternal Godhead itself, will endure perpetually.

Similarly, esoteric chant functions to widen the gap between the consecrated and the unconsecrated. The last five *figurae* (24–28) of *In Honor of the Holy Cross* move the reader unswervingly into the age of the apocalypse by the medium of chant, imagined here as Revelation’s eschatological “new song.” Only those possessing angelic chastity may sing this formidable *novus cantus*. Significantly, the deeper the audience enters into Hrabanus’s intricate, acrostic world, the more they encounter the supremacy of chant and its anagogic meanings. It is a fitting exegetical maneuver for a monastic sage. Chant had otherworldly associations within the realm of Carolingian practices of the Rule. Equally, foursquare esotericism extends into the realm of Carolingian musical theory, where the “four perfect tones were thought to constitute the basis of natural music.”⁷² Moreover, Hrabanus’s focus on chant is an appropriate emphasis for a Carolingian monk, whose goal was to become “all mouth” and “no body.” By coupling the chants of the heavens (Revelation 14.3) with the virginal bodies of the 144,000, Hrabanus places his poetry within the sphere of monastic liturgical practice. But the occult implications of that practice would be known to a select few, that is, those votaries possessing the acumen to comprehend the esotericism of *In Honor of the Holy Cross*. In contrast to the modern scholar, for whom a major piece of this acrostic puzzle is lost, the monastic audience of Hrabanus’s text would have the background with which to understand these difficult compositions. For ninth-century ascetic intellectuals, chant and its occult associations were part of the routine experience of the cloister.

Figura 25’s treatment of the Hebrew liturgical words “Alleluia” and “Amen” underscores the liturgical roots of Hrabanus’s verse (Figure 7.5). In *figura 25*, Hrabanus designs Christ’s cross using the Hebrew “Alleluia” as its vertical and horizontal bars. The little cross at the “belly-button” level forms “Amen” by placing each letter of the word (*a*, *m*, *e*, *n*) on its four branches (north to south; west to east). As Chapter 4 makes evident, Hebrew plays a significant role in the making of Carolingian linguistic capital. Hebrew is, along with Latin and Greek, one of the three sacred languages of the Carolingian realm.⁷³ As Hildemar of Civate sees it, when monks utter Hebrew words, like “Amen” or “Alleluia,” they engage in a heavenly act, one that causes their speech to resound in God’s starry abode.⁷⁴ In the poem strewn across *figura 25*, Hrabanus says something similar:

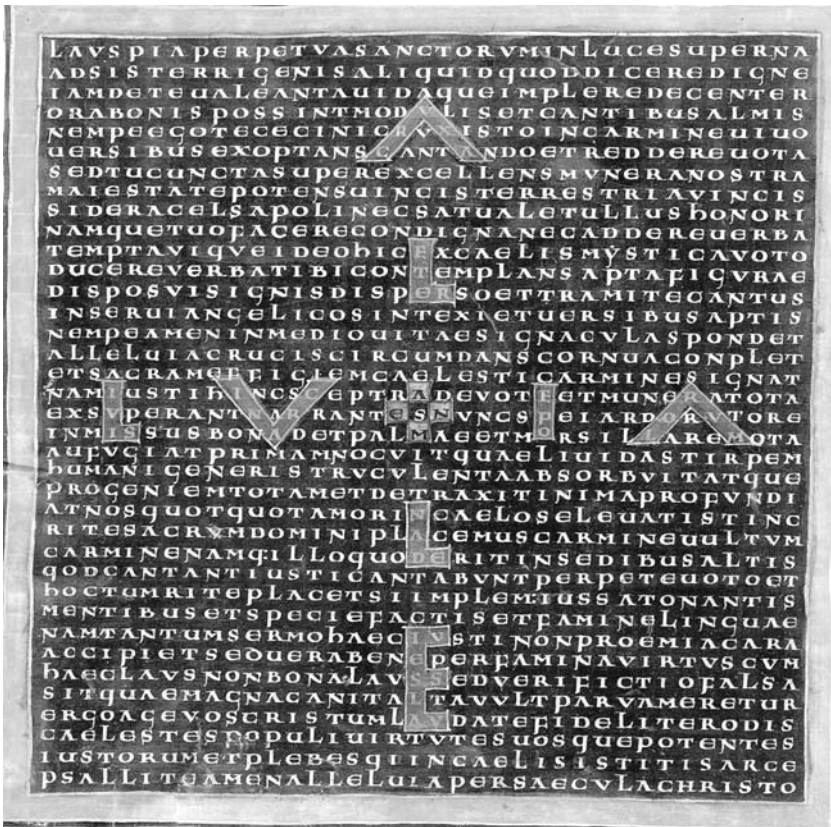


Figure 7.5. “Amen” and “Alleluia” and the qualities of celestial chant. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 32v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

I have placed here and there songs crafted in signs and forming a
 footpath scattered across the page
 I have inserted angelic things and have embroidered them with suitable
 verses
 To be sure, Amen is at the middle of the page and promises symbols of
 life.
 Alleluia perfects the sides of the cross, enveloping them all around
 And Alleluia designates the holy effigy through the medium of celestial
 chant.⁷⁵

These couplets express both the beatific qualities of chant and the mandala-like function of Hrabanus's art. Like *figura 5*'s foursquare spectacle, "Alleluia" offers its contemplator a virtual passageway toward the celestial realm. And, like *figura 24*, the "Alleluia/Amen" folio incorporates spatial, liturgical, and ritual practices within its fusion of verbal and visual styles. Foursquare space is thus a visualization of the veiled, mystical culture of Carolingian monasteries and its closely guarded esoteric practices. Foursquare spirituality has the power "to pull" the stars into an earthly arena.

The twenty-eight *figurae*, however, achieve more than merely unveiling the mysteries of the inner cloister and their starry associations. Some of Hrabanus's figures anchor the observable laws of nature to the esoteric qualities of foursquare space. The best example of how foursquare space imprisons the natural world can be found in *figura 7*'s placement of four circles within the four spaces cordoned off by the cross (Plate 6). It is the only image in Hrabanus's figural poem to contain perfect circular forms. Therefore *figura 7*'s repertoire parallels the concentric circles of renowned Tibetan mandalas, which symbolically house the elements, the heavenly spheres, the sun and the moon, and the four cardinal directions. Such mandalas embrace the entire range of visible creation. Hrabanus's mandala-like *figura 7* achieves the same effect by capturing within circles the four elements (fire, air, water, and earth), the four cardinal directions, the four seasons, and the four parts of the day.⁷⁶ The poet's decision to moor the natural phenomena of the world to spherical shapes makes a salient visual point: the contents of this *figura* are quite different than those of its twenty-seven counterparts, which focus almost exclusively on sacred, eternal things and are expressed in rectilinear designs (as are the major monastic basilicas of the Carolingian world). There are other acrostics in his arsenal that encroach on the things of the visible world (*figurae* 8, 9, 12), but they do so within rectilinear forms and controlling biblical narratives. The scriptural passages framing *figura 7* grapple with time, the seasons, the sky and sea, and their restive natures, though the poet resolutely consigns earthly and celestial phenomena to the might of divine rule.

Hrabanus explains the motivation behind choosing circular figures for *figura 7*: "Truly, the reason why I have depicted in circles the four elements and the four seasons, and the four regions of the world is this—because the entire machine [*machina*] of the world is temporal, variable, and mutable on account of a certain blending together of the elements as well as the succession of ages, as Solomon is attesting to when he says: 'For everything there is a season, and a time for every matter under heaven'" (Ecclesiastes 3.1).⁷⁷

The poet goes on to elucidate the capricious, cyclical, and even violent qualities of every part of his foursquare world. All four elements are unstable by their very nature, and all four spark change in one another: fire dries out the air, water makes air humid, the earth is adversely affected by floods, and the ground becomes desiccated by the ardor of the sun. Moreover, “water is a mobile creature” (*aqua quippe natura mobilis est*) and its affinity with circles can be detected in its whirling streams. Fire similarly is an itinerant and violent element. Its peripatetic, aggressive temperament is best gauged when brilliant flames run off in different directions, assaulting the body of the air and causing it to quiver (“Discurrunt fulgura, et crebris micat ignibus aether”).⁷⁸ Hrabanus then lists the things of this world that revolve: the year, the globe, the sky, the stars, and the wind, which turns turbulently and reveals itself to the human eye in circular patterns.

In these passages of *In Honor of the Holy Cross*, the visible world takes on a menacing guise. The elements, like the bodies of wayward monks, lack self-mastery, stability, and their unbounded natures precipitate decline in the “intactness” of other elements. There is an issue of gender here as well, as the elements are uncontrolled, mutable, and subject to “liquefying assaults,”⁷⁹ as are the women and effeminate monks, who trouble a monastery’s margins. In contrast, squares are tightly cinctured and stable—they are like the bodies of monastic *honestiores*. The most perfect thing about the feminized, elemental circles featured in *figura 7* is not their kinship with spherical shapes (which only serve to stress their changeable natures) but the fact that they are four-square in number (four seasons, four elements, four cardinal directions, four parts of the day). As Hrabanus sees it, “practically everyone knows that the number four is sacred on account of its perfection.”⁸⁰ The mandala depicted in *figura 7* is imperialistic: the poet has tamed the cyclical, alterable, and unpredictable (feminine) elements within the *stabilitas loci* of the (masculine) foursquare space created by Christ’s cross, and he has done so within the gendered discourses of the cloister of his day.

The mandala displayed in *figura 19* links the elemental system encoded in *figura 7* to the inner and outer arenas of the human body. *Figura 19* is an extended discourse on Christian numerology, centered on the integer fifty, which takes the form of five X-shaped objects located at the head, feet, arms, and guts of a figurative cross/body (Figure 7.6). Within each X, there are verses crafted using fifty letters each. It is within the space of this numerological mandala that Hrabanus conveys to his audience the relationship between bodies and elements as well as the trinity of substances that make up the

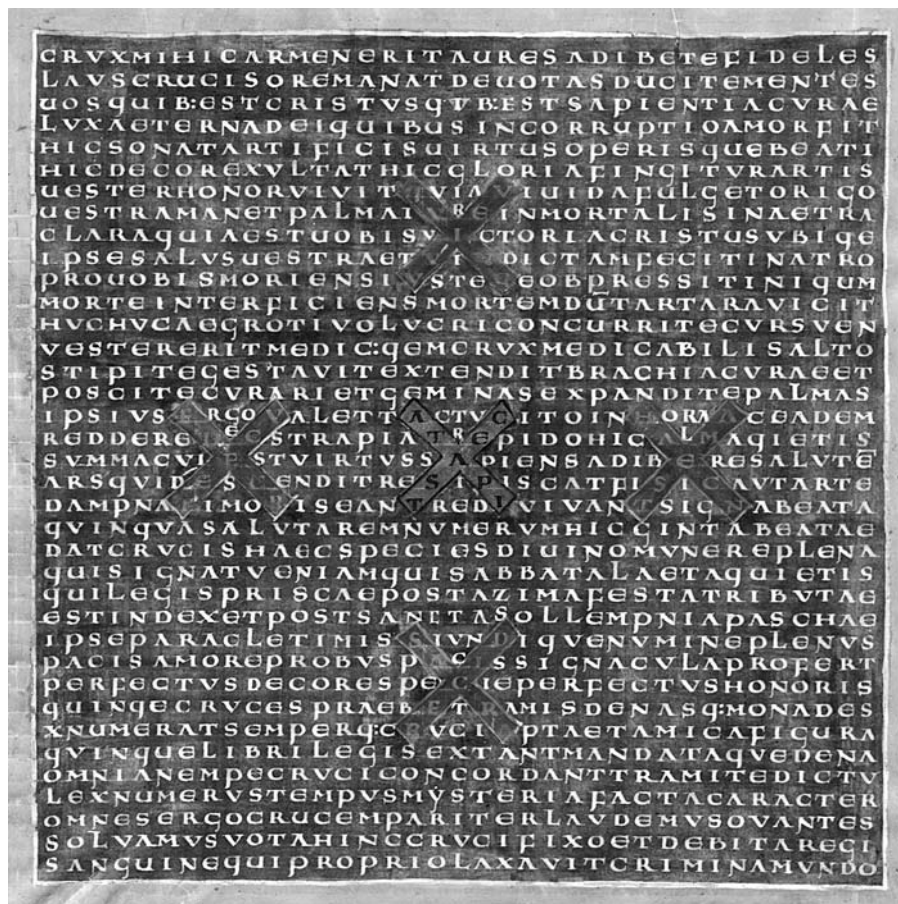


Figure 7.6. Five crosses serve as a backdrop for a discourse on Christian numerology. *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 26v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

human soul. Together, this four-plus-three system works to create a sevenfold creature: “For in that sevenfold creature there are three things that relate to the soul, that is, God ought to be loved with the whole heart, the whole soul, and the whole mind [referencing Deuteronomy 6.5]; in the body, however, the four elements can be found in a most visible way, through whose agency the human body remains constant.”⁸¹

This passage represents an explicit statement of the cosmic implications of human bodies. Building upon the corpus of classical medical and philosophical texts, early medieval thinkers like Hrabanus approach the human body as a microcosm of God's universe, stressing that the Creator yoked together *corpus* and *cosmos* by infusing them with the same substances: earth, water, fire, and air.⁸² In the theater of the body, elements become humors and humors share natures with their elemental counterparts: blood/air, yellow bile/fire, black bile/earth, and phlegm/water.⁸³ Human flesh is akin to the earth; breath takes the nature of air; water is like blood; and fire dwells in the body at the point of its vital heat.⁸⁴ Human beings are dangerously elemental (or feminized) in their vital natures.

The stability of the body hinges on maintaining the proper balance among these cosmic and corporeal forces. In the service of managing the volatile humors, Carolingian monasteries created separate spaces for routine bloodletting, such as the medical facility illustrated on the Plan of Saint Gall. The cyclical bleeding of monks is a subtle exercise in gender control, as masculine bodies tend more toward the hot, airy side of the humor spectrum; in contrast, feminine bodies migrate easily toward the cold, wet register. Removing excess (in this case, superfluous blood) moves a male ascetic back toward his true celestial nature—that is the fiery, ethereal zone Hrabanus associates with the “head” of the cross, where he situates the blazing seraphim (*figura* 4) and the element of fire (*figura* 7). According to monastic medical beliefs, bloodletting lessens sexual desire, reduces the likelihood of nocturnal emissions, and normalizes a sexed body's gender/temperature dynamics. Such a practice enables male ascetics to free their spirits from the weighty dross of the body.⁸⁵ In all, proper gender maintenance relates directly to the spiritual and esoteric culture of foursquare space.

If Hrabanus's foursquare wonders are considered in the context of the built environment of the cloister, the ascetic space emerges in a new light. Ninth-century cloisters and their attendant spatial practices can be effectively read as meditative structures. Thus the cloister emerges as a cosmic map, a machine for revelation, and a pedagogical tool.⁸⁶ Each of Hrabanus's twenty-eight *figurae* fits within the foursquare space of a cloister, such as the one featured on the Plan of Saint Gall, which is divided into four quadrants of equal size created by four paths crossing the green space and oriented on a grid pattern formed by the four cardinal directions (Figure 7.7).⁸⁷

The Carolingian *claustrum* is a canvas onto which Hrabanus's *pupils* can visualize the poet's geometric forms (squares, octagons, triangles, and circles)

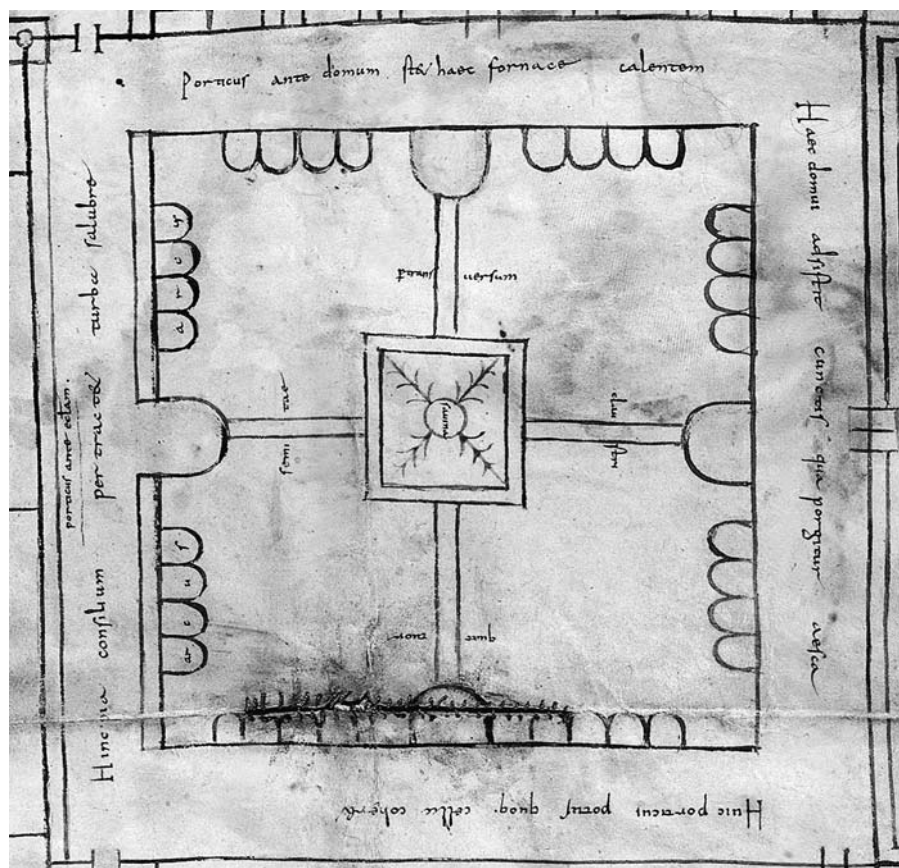


Figure 7.7. Cloister, Plan of Saint Gall. Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland, MS 1092. Courtesy of Stiftsbibliothek. The *titulus* on the left wing of the cloister walk reads: “Here let the pious group hold their wholesome deliberations” (Walter Horn and Ernst Born, *Plan of St. Gall* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979], 3:81).

and their exegetical qualities. That the cloister acted as a pedagogical space in the ninth century is shown by the Plan of Saint Gall. The designer drew in a long bench flush with the north wall of the covered walkway of the *claustrum*, where a teacher could entertain his students by lecturing on the marvels of the foursquare universe using an emblematic, religious space, one associated with the “practice of a well-defined group within a well-defined society.”⁸⁸ The five books of the Torah, natural phenomena, the history of the faith group, and its future reward could all be inscribed on the cloister’s

four quadrants in a hierarchical manner. The cloister becomes a site where a monk can store images, words, or ideas to retrieve them later.⁸⁹ The pedagogical bond between Saint Gall's cloister and Hrabanus's mandala-like *figurae* is unmistakable. Both visual artifacts are trapping devices, collecting within quadrangular forms the foursquare power of the universe. Both cloister and figural poem ensnare the bound body of the sacrificed god within rectilinear shapes. Finally, both visualizations of foursquare space exalt the tightly cinctured and stable bodies of perfected monks, who understand the occult nuances of ascetic spirituality.

In Honor of the Holy Cross suggests that the appreciation of Hrabanus's artistic achievement cannot be divorced from the spatial, ritual, and gendered practices of the monks who circulate in and out of Carolingian cloisters. Scholars of early medieval monasticism surely will never grasp the full range of Hrabanus's allegorical thought, as the cosmology he creates, using the twenty-eight *figurae* as building blocks, have their sources in the highly guarded traditions of monastic esotericism and in the oral pedagogies of a cloister's memory theater. In fact, what looks needlessly intricate and arcane to the modern eye is only a dim reflection of a lost spirituality. Contemporary readers thus are more like the targeted lay audiences of *In Honor of the Holy Cross*. We, like they, are let in to the esoteric system only a little. In fact, most monks never mastered the technique, and even Hrabanus confesses that he is not up to the task of decoding the heavens. In the prologue to the poem, he writes that his tongue lacks the proper eloquence with which to "chant" in praise of the divine. Therefore, the poet respectfully credits "our muse" (*nostra musa*) with the artistic ability to do so.⁹⁰ In contrast, Hrabanus is the self-confessed creature of his muse, a wretched man bereft of verbal gifts.⁹¹ Notwithstanding this time-honored monastic rhetoric of unworthiness, Hrabanus's labors on the Holy Cross stand as proclamations of his eminence as a monastic luminary.

Significantly, Hrabanus's tome partially unveils the cosmological implications of that eminence and even hints at its cloaked methods of pedagogy. Hrabanus visualizes Christ's capacity to fill "every space, every pore, of the universe," in a spiritual environment where monks "write Christ," "eat Christ," "wear Christ," and "embody Christ" in their daily habits and liturgical practices.⁹² In writing Christ and dressing him all up in letters, Hrabanus is emulating the great miracle of the Torah, in which the Eternal acts as a scribe of the law by engraving with his finger the letters of the Hebrew alphabet on stone tablets (Exodus 31.18). Hrabanus similarly writes the new

law of the new covenant in the form of Christ's body, and he does so in classicizing verse. Both poet and audience are second-covenant prophets or honored viewers of God's mysterious parts. Equally, Hrabanus is an ascetic gourmand, who invigorates his own body by cannibalizing the Savior's flesh and blood in order to imbibe their power. Writing is, in this cosmological system, a process similar to eating: both are ways of masticating the fleshy Word. Even items of early medieval priestly garb, such as the dalmatic, pallium, and chasuble, are cut out in the shape of the cross or inscribed with crosses. Carolingian altar servants, who make up a large percentage of the monastic population in ninth-century houses, display the crucifixion on their bodies.⁹³ Wearing the cross is the height of Carolingian monastic fashion. These examples suggest that Hrabanus and his colleagues lived in an atmosphere where the sacrificed god participated in all aspects of the cloistered life.

In the image of Hrabanus featured in Plate 1 of this book, the monk is caught at a precise moment of supplication (see detail of *figura* 28, Figure 7.8). Indeed, Hrabanus explains that he is offering his meager body (*corpusculum*) as a holocaust sacrifice on the altar of Christ's cross, and he is doing so "with hymns and praises fashioned by heart, mouth, hand, and the deportment of the entire body" (*totius corporis gestu*).⁹⁴ Hrabanus's prayer echoes Quintilian's instruction to Roman orators on the use of the entire body in the delivery of public speeches (*totius proper habitu corporis*).⁹⁵ His tonsured head preserves the memory of Christ's passion, for as Hrabanus explains in his widely read *De institutione clericorum*, the Savior was "crowned with stinging sharp thorns," and a monk must bear the "form and likeness of Christ on his head."⁹⁶ The prostrate monk implores Christ to purify his body and his speech.⁹⁷ Hrabanus's prayer originates in a text he would have heard read throughout the year: "While he guards himself at every moment from sins and vices of thought or tongue, of hand or foot, of self-will or bodily desire" (RB 7.12).⁹⁸ His request for purification is urgent: the poet imagines himself to be standing on the brink of awesome destruction. In short, Hrabanus's figural poem confronts its audience with an apocalyptic image: the penitent body of a monk at the end of days.⁹⁹

In this final acrostic, Hrabanus symbolically transforms himself into one of the 144,000 virgin males of the apocalypse featured in early sections of *In Honor of the Holy Cross*. In *figura* 28 (see Plate 1 and Figure 7.8), Hrabanus offers both his poem and his body as "first fruits for God."¹⁰⁰ He does so by lining up the parts of his body that matter most for the celebration of the



Figure 7.8. Hrabanus as holocaust sacrifice (detail). *In honorem sanctae crucis* (In Honor of the Holy Cross). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Vatican City, Reg. lat. 124, fol. 35v. Courtesy of Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

liturgy, the head, eyes, mouth, heart, tongue, and hands, under the “foot” of the cross, that sector of Christ’s “wood” most closely connected with humankind. In fact, the cross is pointing down at the poet as if to stress those parts of Hrabanus’s body involved in the production of the fertile Word (mouth/tongue) and the ministry to humanity (hands). In contrast, the body’s “underworld,” the rebellious stomach, wayward pudenda, and unclean feet, is at a remove from the cosmic authority of the cross, as Hrabanus’s somewhat awkward pose in *figura* 28 makes clear.

Hrabanus’s posture in *figura* 28 is an identity marker. Fulda’s most famous monk is sealed off from carnal penetrations, and he has consistently resisted the presence of women and the “soft” practices of the laity. In *figura* 28, the Fulda poet is declaring his membership in the 144,000, the martyr cadre of the early church, whose place in the Frankish world is taken by the fertile “eunuchs” of the *sanctissimus ordo* of monks. As such, Hrabanus’s identity is rooted in the foursquare cloister and its foursquare power, a mas-

culine space off-limits to the laity and a ritual arena where men become “all voice” and “no body.” Such Christians are able to take the esoteric chant of the book of Revelation into their pure mouths at the onslaught of the apocalypse. The portrait of Hrabanus Maurus in *figura* 28 epitomizes the ambition of Carolingian monasticism: the offering of the ascetic body as a burning sacrifice to the Eternal.

Epilogue

In a homily written for the dedication of a church, Hrabanus Maurus makes a direct connection between bodies and buildings. He exhorts his fellow monks (*fratres charissimi*) to transform the interior spaces of their bodies into temples of God complete with all the trappings and rituals associated with Carolingian sacred space: wall paintings, candelabra, voices stirred by the power of chant, and holy readings. Hrabanus reasons that the internal nature of a monk should be an eternal liturgy as enduring as mortar and stone, yet composed of blood and sinew.¹ The body of a monk chanting “Amen” or “Alleluia” in a basilica like the one depicted on the Plan of Saint Gall (Figure 6.18) shatters the division between the carnal and the spiritual and lifts the body of the chanter into the abode of the angels. No lay body could so transcend the physical. Externally and internally, sacred architecture and liturgical practice frame the religious experience of monks and cultivate the singularity of the monastic body.

The authority of that monastic body outside of the safe realm of religious discourse was quite another matter. Hrabanus Maurus lived in an era when abbots served at the whim of secular potentates and when relations between the two groups could go sour even after decades of mutual accord. Hrabanus’s life underscores this point. Like a number of his colleagues, Hrabanus lost his post as abbot of the premier monastery in the eastern half of the Carolingian Empire when the political tide turned against him. Before his expulsion from office, Hrabanus had experienced anxiety at the impending visit of a Carolingian monarch and had worried that a royal entourage would disrupt the rhythms of Fulda’s cloister. Hrabanus’s tenure as abbot also draws attention to the fact that kinship networks, such as the relationship between Abbot Hrabanus and his brother Count Guntram, extended into the monastery and forced holy men into the profane world outside. On the brink of political disaster, Hrabanus and Guntram negotiated a desparate land ex-

change in the hope of saving their family's properties from seizure by Louis the German.²

Monarchs and aristocrats like Louis the German or Guntram left their mark on monastic space. Although architectural historians no longer interpret the westwork of a monastery as a *Kaiserkirche*, a ceremonial space set apart for kings, the makers of the Plan of Saint Gall did create lodgings for the traveling nobility, their horsemen, and their servants. In response to the presence of the military aristocracy in the monastery, the Plan's architects embellish the secular authority of the abbot by outfitting his house with classicizing loggias. Chapter 6 describes the abbot's house as possessing a "masking façade," that is, a façade that conceals and dissimulates as much as it displays (Plate 7). The residence dissimulates in that it communicates the worldly authority of the abbot to the viewer of the Plan while concealing the degree to which he as an individual is immersed in the body. The Plan's designers wanted to have it both ways. The abbot on the Plan is a potentate operating in an opulent secular context as evidenced by the Roman-style *porticus*, a space reserved for the exercise of power, and a solarium, a lofty symbol of royal authority.³ Simultaneously, he is an ascetic grafted on to the corporate body of the monastery, which protects him from the perils of *luxuria*. Hrabanus Maurus's figural poem achieves much the same thing. As an author Hrabanus downplays his role in the creation of the text by scattering his name at every eighth word of every eighth line (Figure 1.1). He is there, yet not there, named and not named, central and peripheral. Hrabanus's individuality as an artist is suppressed, but the method he uses to subsume himself in his work underscores his genius.

Monastic constructions of gender also can be characterized as "masking façades." Like the abbot's loggia on the Plan, monastic gender expresses the imperial ambitions of the religious leadership of the Carolingian Empire. Commentators on the Rule Hildemar of Civate and Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel explain how the art of classical oratory is transferred to the Christian monastery, where classical speech is perfected through the agency of Christ's sacrifice on the cross. The early medieval monastery is a citadel of oratory, and monks use their status as heirs to the political prowess of Roman orators to carve out an arena in which to exercise authority in the empire. As a successor to classical Roman villa design, the foursquare space of a cloister is emblematic of that supremacy. The Plan of Saint Gall proves that foursquare space is the private reserve of the monks in the inner cloister. Nowhere on the Plan is the foursquare rhythm of the architecture of the cloister dupli-

cated, and, in theory, no layperson—no matter his or her standing—is granted entry to foursquare space. The assertion of monastic gender over the princely powers exists purely in the realm of the hypothetical and in the theater of religious discourse. Such claims do not reflect the reality of relations between the spiritual and secular nobility nor do they reveal the ordinary routines of the monastery. In the Plan, in the Rule, and in the design of the cloister, monastic gender is a rhetorical weapon that conceals and dissimulates as much as it displays. On the one hand, monastic masculinity flaunts the superiority of the ascetic body over its secular rival; on the other hand, monastic writers obfuscate the extent to which they are beholden to those lay bodies.

For gender theorists, monastic masculinity also discloses the queerness of the Carolingian cloister. If “queerness” is defined as resistance to opposite-sex relations, then the early medieval monastery is a very queer space. Monks such as Hrabanus Maurus lived in an exclusively male world modeled on the biblical community of the 144,000 virgin martyrs of the apocalypse. There is no room in this ascetic society for women, marriage, and family—markers of normative secular existence. Although sexual activity and carnal thoughts are prohibited in the cloister, “desire and the erotic, especially the erotic of the eye, is everywhere.”⁴ Frescoes of seductive females, such as the Siren featured on the walls of the Corvey westwork, would have attracted the “erotic” of the monastic eye, while the spiritual reading of pagan figures would have made gazing at them licit. In his famous poem *In Honor of the Holy Cross* Hrabanus Maurus gives monks a legitimate arena to gaze up and down the body of the Crucified One and to contemplate Christ’s bodily parts through the medium of classical verse. The Carolingians introduced the practice of exhibiting images of Christ in monastic dining halls, where the sacrificed Savior became an object of a monk’s gaze. The monastic refectory is a sparing ground, where corporeal pleasures, such as eating or moving the eyes over the bodies of other diners, are crushed by power of the Word performed by a lector trained in the art of classical oratory. The dining hall of a monastery is a perilous space, where monks are “invited into the body only to resist.”⁵

The eye and its desires lead to danger in the monastery. In keeping with the Rule, monks sleep together as an expression of the corporate body of the monastery. Yet men sleeping in close proximity to other men stir the nighttime libido. Monks suffering from nocturnal emissions cure their defiled bodies by chanting the Psalter, a prophylactic for corporeal eruptions. Sma-

ragdus orders his holy men to separate their beds by the space of one cubit, and Hildemar urges monks not to wake their brothers by touching them while they sleep. He enjoins them instead to rap gently on the boards of a fellow ascetic's bed. The *lucerna* featured in the monastic privy on the Plan of Saint Gall (see Figure 6.14) recalls the Rule's anxiety over the darkness of night as a cover for sin. A lamp is to burn all night in the monks' dormitory (RB 22.4). Hildemar directs young monks on their way to the toilet at night to be guarded by reliable seniors bearing torches, who safeguard the youngsters from the evils of "Roman" sex. The writings of Smaragdus and Hildemar bear witness to the fact that the closed cloister was an open space for same-sex intimacy.

Erotic verse, including Alcuin's ode to licking the innards of a younger pupil, accentuates the queer subculture of the Carolingian cloister. But generations of allegorical interpretations of the sexually charged poetry of the Song of Songs open a space for Alcuin to articulate his same-sex desire. Similarly, Smaragdus's vision of the afterlife as culminating in a marriage between a male votary and a male deity exemplifies the queerness of the monastery. A world without women has metamorphosed into a world of same-sex eroticism projected onto the safe environment of an eschatological future. The sexual subculture of the monastery is thus another illustration of a masking façade. Same-sex desire, which is forbidden in the real space of the cloister, is securely expressed in the allegorical imagination.

The eschatological focus of the cloister points to another major theme covered here: the virtual qualities of Carolingian monasticism. Carolingian monks participated in acts of virtual spirituality: the virtual loggia of the Lorsch gatehouse, the virtual desert housed in the Salvator crypts, the virtual tabernacle constructed through practices of the Rule, the virtual pilgrimage prompted by study of the Plan of Saint Gall, and the virtual heavenly Jerusalem moored to the foursquare space of a cloister. These spaces and practices guided the penitent on the path to spiritual enlightenment. Carolingian monks Christianized pagan mazes like the famous ancient patterns found on the island of Crete. Scribes working in the scriptoria of Saint Gall and Reichenau decorated historical, astrological, and geographical manuscripts with classicizing labyrinths. Monastic mazes led the pious eye not to the monstrous Minotaur hidden in the center of the labyrinth, but to the triumphant Christ, vanquisher of paganism.⁶

Understanding the virtual attributes of monastic practice, such as the scribal mazes of the ninth century, situates Carolingian mysticism within

comparative religious systems. Colleagues in the field of Insular Christianity have noted that famous illuminated codices, including the eighth-century Lindisfarne Gospels, contain examples of virtual spirituality. The curator of illuminated manuscripts at the British Library Michelle Brown argues that the celebrated “cross-carpet pages” of the Lindisfarne Gospels may have been intended as meditative tools—labyrinth-like maps for virtual pilgrimage and “portals of prayer.” These intricate, geometric visualizations of the crucifixion, executed without a representation of Christ’s body, anticipate the prayer labyrinths of later Gothic cathedrals.⁶ The cross-carpet page serving as the frontispiece of the Lindisfarne Gospels is a product of virtual practice (Plate 8). Its maze-like features and whirling designs induce the eye to navigate the narrative of the crucifixion without the benefit of figural or verbal cues. Brown hypothesizes that Christ’s five wounds and the inscription over his head (INRI) are evoked in the six bosses featured on the arms and at the center of the cross. The long, rectangular boxes on either side of the bottom half of the cross replace more traditional images of the witnesses the crucifixion—the Virgin Mary and the apostle John or the two Roman soldiers who attend the dying body of Jesus with sponge and spear. The squares on either side of the top section of the cross are stand-ins for angels, who, in other works of Insular art, hover over Christ’s shoulders.⁷

The carpet page presents a story without actors and a theology without words. It is a map for the mind, prompting movement along various stations set out on the page at key moments in salvation history. The eye’s progress up and down the arms of the cross replicates the procession of pilgrim bodies through sacred space. Such space could be real (an Insular church) or imagined (the biblical tabernacle). The cross-carpet page is global in scale: paired beasts guard the four corners of the earth signified by the four edges of the manuscript page.⁸ Scribes who spent perhaps as much as a decade working on splendid books like the Lindisfarne Gospels and their intricate cross-carpet pages may have perceived their taxing duties as calligraphers and artists as symbolic substitutions for the physically punishing asceticism of the eremitic life. At Lindisfarne or Iona, a scribe is a hermit, a solitary figure who deprives his body in order to focus solely on Christ the Word.⁹ Simultaneously, the hermit’s virtual practices enable him to negotiate the history and mystery of the faith on a universal level while never leaving the cramped conditions of his cell.

The swirling patterns and labyrinths fashioned by the Lindisfarne scribe fit the scholarly definition of a mandala: geometric designs used by ascetics

and mystics on a world scale to chart prayer rituals, to stimulate memory work, to initiate votaries, to engage in acts of virtual pilgrimage, and to visualize the state of enlightenment. Nowhere is the term mandala more appropriate than when it is applied to Hrabanus's figure of four squares within four squares (Plate 3). Like the cross-carpet pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels, Hrabanus's foursquare extravaganza replaces human figures with geometric designs. A bare cross compels the viewer to muse on the body of the Savior, and the four squares personify the four major types of Hebrew and Christian holy men: patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs. Absent human figures, Hrabanus's geometric world is peopled with letters in keeping with the Carolingian program of suppressing the visual to enhance the authority of the Word. Because of this Carolingian penchant for the Word, the poet actually tells his readers what the foursquare imagery signifies. His mandala is a tool for contemplating the architecture of the heavens. As such, Plate 3 is a map of the astral landscape for the virtual pilgrim. The mandala offers initiates a vehicle for journeying through the four ages of the church. For monks trained in the art of memory and in scriptural exegesis, the twenty-eight mandalas of *In Honor of the Holy Cross* lead their audience to the state of Christian enlightenment. If Hrabanus's figure of four squares within four squares is not a mandala, well what then is it?¹⁰

The twenty-eight mandalas featured in Hrabanus's acrostic poem also work within the theme of Carolingian "masking façades." The body of the Savior is central to the overall meaning of the poem, but that body appears in only one *figura* (Plate 4). The human figure of the Crucified One confronts the spectator of the manuscript in its opening pages only to disappear from sight throughout the remainder of the tome. A disembodied Christ subsequently returns in the form of a cross bereft a body or Christ in the guise of various geometric patterns. The artistic rendering of Christ's body is there and yet not there, central yet peripheral. Unlike the artist of the carpet pages featured in the Lindisfarne Gospels, who provides no verbal instruction on how to interpret these brilliant geometric and spiral patterns, Hrabanus does not trust his audience to use images as vehicles for arriving at spiritual truths. Words rein in the viewer's gaze, and Hrabanus's Christ is subdued by the power of the Word.¹¹ Yet the Savior's body is so sacrosanct that it alone forms the cross in Plate 4.

Hrabanus's *In Honor of the Holy Cross* visualizes the fundamental spiritual dilemma of the Dark Age body: the body is central to the meaning of the faith but its centrality occasions anxiety among the faithful. Bodies are objects

of sanctification and chastisement.¹² Legal codes, chronicles, and hagiographical texts detail the ways in which bodies function as sites of punishment. Blinded eyes, tattooed foreheads, and excised tongues stand as visible reminders of the dangers of infraction. Simultaneously, the uncorrupt corpses of saints smelling sweetly of the delights of paradise tap the body's potential for sanctification. Beaten down by the rigors of practicing the Rule, the purified bodies of monks rise up at the end of days as holocaust offerings on the altar of heaven (Plate 1). The bodies of Dark Age monks perform the opposition between the masculine and the feminine, the spiritual and the profane, the classical and the barbaric, and the saved and the damned. In so doing, monastic bodies make available to the historian of early medieval spirituality a wealth of material on the role played by gender in the Christianization of the early medieval West.

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Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	Acta Sanctorum. Ed. Société des Bollandistes. 68 vols. Antwerp and Brussels, 1643–1940.
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–.
CCM	Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum. Ed. K. Hallinger. Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963–.
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna, 1866–.
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica Series in MGH
Capit.	Capitularia regum Francorum. Ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, 2 vols. Hanover: Hahn, 1883–97
Capit. episc.	Capitula episcoporum. Ed. Peter Brommer, Rudolf Pokorny, and Martina Stratmann. 3 vols. Hanover: Hahn, 1984–95.
Conc.	Concilia. Ed. Friedrich Maasen, et al. 6 vols. with supplements. Hanover: Hahn, 1893–.
Epp.	Epistolae. Ed. Paul Ewald, et al. 8 vols. Berlin: Weidmann, 1891–1928.
Fontes iuris	Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui in usum scholarum. Ed. Friedrich Bluhme, et al. 15 vols. Hanover: Hahn, 1869–.
LL nat. Germ.	Leges nationum Germanicarum. Ed. L. R. de Salis, et al. 5 vols. with supplements. Hanover: Hahn, 1892–1969.
Poetae Latini	Ed. Ernst Dümmler, et al. 6 vols. with supplements (first 4 volumes focus on the Carolingian era). Berlin: Weidmann, 1881–1923 (vols. 1–4).
SS	Scriptores. Ed. Georg Pertz, et al. 38 vols. with supplements. Hanover: Hahn, 1826–.
SS. rer. Germ.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi. Ed. Georg Pertz, et al. 75 vols. with supplements. Hanover: Hahn: 1871–.

- SS rer. Germ. N.S. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series. Ed. Harry Bresslau, et al. 18 vols. with supplements. Berlin: Weidmann, 1922–.
- PL Patrologia latina = *Patrologia cursus completus. Series secunda in qua prodeunt patres . . . ecclesiae latinae*. Comp. by J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
- RB Rule of Benedict. Ed. and trans. Timothy Fry. *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1981.
- SC Sources chrétiennes. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1943–.
- VE Brun Candidus. *Vita Eigilis*. Ed. Gereon Becht-Jördens. *Vita Aegil Abbatis Fuldensis a Candido ad Modestum edita prosa et versibus: Ein Opus Geminum des IX. Jahrhunderts*. Marburg: Selbstverlag, 1994.

INTRODUCTION

1. For the text of *In honorem sanctae crucis* (since the sixteenth century more popularly known as *De laudibus sanctae crucis*), see Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, Michel Perrin (ed.), CCCM 100 (accompanying facsimile in CCCM 100A; Turnhout: Brepols, 1997). The poem inscribed on Hrabanus's body is on p. 221 of Perrin's edition: "Hrabanum memet clemens rogo, Christe, tuere, O pie iudicio." The palindrome positioned on both arms of the Holy Cross is on p. 220: "Oro te ramus aram, ara sumar et oro." Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this book are my own.

2. For discussions of Hrabanus's acrostic poem, see Thomas F. X. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 347–51; Celia Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 75–131; Michele Camillo Ferrari, *Il "Liber sanctae crucis" di Rabano Mauro: Testo-immagine-contesto* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999); and Michel Perrin (ed. and trans.), *Raban Maur: Louanges de la sainte croix* (Paris: Berg International, 1988).

3. Hrabanus acknowledges his debt to the writers of ancient Rome within the verses of *In Honor of the Holy Cross*; see *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, pp. 19 (Lucretius), 225 (Horace); Perrin, *Raban Maur*, p. 143, notes that Hrabanus's heroic poetry is heir to the epic style of Virgil and Lucan.

4. Hrabanus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, pp. 217, 286.

5. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 1.32.1–9; the Latin text of the *Etymologies* available in W. M. Lindsay (ed.), *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911).

6. Karl F. Morrison, "'Know Thyself': Music in the Carolingian Renaissance," in *Committenti e produzione artistico-letteraria nell'alto medioevo occidentale*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano sull'alto medioevo 39 (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1992), pp. 369–479, here p. 396.

7. On the blessing of the male tongue as an indicator of its future prophetic status, see Adomnán, *Vita Columbae* 1.3; Latin text with English translation in A. O. Anderson

and M. O. Anderson, *Adomnán's Life of Columba* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 24–26: “Iusum tum puer cum ingenti tremore aperiens ós linguam porrexit, quam sanctus sanctam extendens manum deligenter benedicens.” Mayke de Jong discusses the excising of the tongue of the abbot of Lobbes; see her “Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer,” in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2, c. 700–c. 900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 622–53, here p. 652.

8. Morrison, “Music in the Carolingian Renaissance,” p. 398.

9. For the classicizing description of Adalhard's speech, see Paschasius Radbertus, *Vita sancti Adalhardi*, Georg Pertz (ed.), MGH SS 2 (Hanover: Hahn, 1829), chap. 63, pp. 530–31. Paschasius's portrait of Adalhard's elocutions is in keeping with Isidore of Seville's teachings in his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.5.17, C. Lawson (ed.), CCSL 113 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1989), p. 62: “Huius autem sermo debet esse purus simplex et apertus, plenus gravitatis et honestatis, plenus suavitatis et gratiae.”

10. The interest in Roman oratory is exemplified by Hrabanus's Epistle 36, addressed to Bishop Hemmo of Halberstadt; see Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistolae*, Ernst Dümmler (ed.), MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), no. 36, p. 471: “quod ante in multorum codicum amplitudine, et facunda oratorum locutione dissertum copiose legisti.” For an overview of the educational aspects of Carolingian reform, see Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (eds.), *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), introduction, pp. 1–16. For monastic education in the early Middle Ages, see Anna A. Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). For Carolingian conceptions of *correctio*, see Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 292–380. For the application of *correctio* at the local level, see Carine van Rhijn, “Priests and the Carolingian Reforms: The Bottlenecks of Local *Correctio*,” in Richard Corradini et al. (eds.), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* 12 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), pp. 219–37.

11. On the vexing gender of eunuchs, see Smaragdus, *Liber in partibus Donati*, B. Löfstedt, L. Holtz, and A. Kibre (eds.), CCCM 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), pp. 44–45. Carmela Viricillo Franklin discusses how Christian authors who comment on Donatus's grammar fused biblical and classical texts. See her “Grammar and Exegesis: Bede's *Liber de schematibus et tropis*,” in Carol Dana Lanham (ed.), *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice* (London: Continuum, 2002), pp. 63–91. All English translations of the Bible cited here are from Wayne A. Meeks (ed.), *The HarperCollins Study Bible* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993). The version of the Vulgate is that of Alberto Colunga and Laurentio Turrado (eds.), *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam Clementiam nova editio* (Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 1994).

12. For the Carolingian art of grammar, see Viven Law, *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1997), pp. 129–63.

13. Anthony Corbeill, *Nature Embodied: Gesture in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 16. The spiritual and ethical qualities of Latin grammar and rhetoric are also discussed by Paul Gehl, “Latin Orthopraxes,” in Lanham (ed.), *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric*, pp. 1–21.

14. Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 91.

15. Canon 52 of the synod held at Frankfurt in 794 singles out three sacred languages in the empire that enjoyed a special, though controversial, status; text in Alfred Boretius (ed.), *Capitularia regnum Francorum*, 2 vols. (Hanover: Hahn, 1883 and 1889), 1:73: “Ut nullus credit, quod nonnisi in tribus linguis Deus orandus sit, quia in omni lingua Deus adoratur et homo exauditur, si iusta petierit.” Passage discussed by Arnold Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter: Die abendländische Christenheit von 400 bis 900* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990), pp. 344–45.

16. Boretius (ed.), MGH Capit. 1, p. 79; see Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, p. 310, and McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 316.

17. Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, pp. 310–13.

18. The performative aspects of Carolingian Latin pedagogy made clear by Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* 3.19; text in Detlev Zimpel edition, *Hrabanus Maurus: De institutione clericorum libri tres* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996), pp. 470–72. For the performance of the early medieval liturgy, see Éric Palazzo, “Performing the Liturgy,” in Thomas F. X. Noble and Julia M. H. Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, vol. 3, *Early Medieval Christianities, c. 600–c. 1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 472–88.

19. *De institutione clericorum*, dedicatory poem to the monks of Fulda; text in Zimpel edition, p. 290:

Haec ego peccator Hrabanus dona tonantis
 Vobiscum capiens, nunc pie participo.
 Supplex vos posco testans per sceptrum tonantis,
 Me ut commendetis vos precibus domino.

20. Mayke de Jong, “Some Reflections on Mandarin Language,” in Evangelos Chrysos and Ian Wood (eds.), *East and West: Modes of Communication*, vol. 5 of *The Transformation of the Roman World* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 61–69. For an overview of Carolingian Latin literacy, see Michel Banniard, “Language and Communication in Carolingian Europe,” in McKitterick (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, 2:695–708; Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France* (Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1982); Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Fee-Alexandra Haase, “Rhetoric as Praise of the Emperor,” *Concilium medii aevi* 8 (2005): 1–25.

21. For theories of speech as a marker of social and economic status, see Pierre Bourdieu’s *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. John B. Thompson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).

22. The standard scholarly edition of the Rule attributed to Benedict of Nursia is Adalbert de Vogüé and Jean Neufville (eds.), *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, 7 vols., SC 181–86 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971–77), with Latin text, French translation, and extensive commentary. References to the Rule of Benedict, cited here as “RB,” are from the Latin text

with English translation of Timothy Fry (ed.), *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1981), with consultation of Vogüé and Neufville's edition. All subsequent translations from the RB refer to Fry's text, hereafter cited as Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*.

23. On early medieval modes of historical memory, see Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (eds.), *Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

24. For the body as the sphere of the human and the voice as the theater for the divine, see Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 192.

25. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 12.1: "Sit ergo nobis orator, quem constituimus, is, qui a M. Catone finitur, *vir bonus dicendi peritus*"; English translation available in H. E. Butler, *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, 4 vols., Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920–22), vol. 4, p. 354 (Latin) and p. 355 (English).

26. Hrabanus adopts Quintilian's language in his *De institutione clericorum* 3.27; text in Zimpel (ed.), pp. 488–89: "His autem speciebus virtutum perfecte adornatus, et sapientiae lumine illustratus homo dei rite ac congrue servitium eius potest agere atque oratoris officium digne potest in ecclesia implere, quem antiqua definitio adfirmat, *virum bonum et dicendi peritum esse debere*. Si ergo haec definitio in oratoribus gentilium observabatur, multo magis in oratoribus Christi observari convenit, quorum non solum sermo, immo etiam tota vita doctrina virtutum debet esse." Hrabanus probably received his education in Quintilian from Isidore's *Etymologies*, book 2, *De rhetorica et dialectica*. Hrabanus's instruction to Christian orators is discussed by Luke Wenger, "Hrabanus Maurus, Fulda, and Carolingian Spirituality" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1973), pp. 254–55.

27. For the text of Hildemar's commentary, see Hildemar of Corbie/Civate, *Expositio regulae S. Benedicti*, in Rupert Mittermüller (ed.), *Vita et regula SS. P. Benedicti: Una cum expositione regulae a Hildemaro tradita et nunc primum typis mandata* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1880); for Smaragdus's commentary, see Alfredus Spannagel and Pius Engelbert (eds.), *Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti*, CCM 8 (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 1974).

28. For chant and liturgical music in the early Middle Ages, see Charles M. Atkinson, *The Critical Nexus: Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Leo Treitler, *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How It Was Made* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Kenneth Levy, *Gregorian Chant and the Carolingians* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998); Richard L. Crocker, *An Introduction to Gregorian Chant* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000); Katherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Wulf Arlt and Susan Rankin, *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen: Codices 484 & 381*, 3 vols. (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1996); David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1993); and Peter Jeffery, *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

29. For the *Life of Eigil*, see Brun Candidus, *Vita Eigilis*, Gereon Becht-Jördens (ed.), in *Vita Aegil Abbatis Fuldensis a Candido ad Modestum edita prosa et versibus: Ein Opus Geminum des IX. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg: Selbstverlag, 1994).

30. The Plan of Saint Gall, or MS 1092, is housed in the Stiftsbibliothek, Saint Gall, Switzerland.

31. For the methodology of applying gender to the study of architectural space, see Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden (eds.), *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2000); Beatrice Colmina (ed.), *Sexuality and Space* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992); and David Bell and Gill Valentine (eds.), *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1995).

32. From the field of classical studies, this book is indebted to the work of many scholars, especially David Fredrick (ed.), *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power, and the Body* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Rebecca Langlands, *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Shadi Bartsch, *The Mirror of the Self: Sexuality, Self-Knowledge, and the Gaze in the Early Roman Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Corbeill, *Nature Embodied*; Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Catharine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). For medical readings of the body in the pre-modern world, the book incorporates the work of Rebecca Flemming, *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women: Gender, Nature, and Authority from Celsus to Galen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Joan Cadden, *The Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Leslie Dean Jones, *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); Martin, *Corinthian Body*; Danielle Jacquart and Claude Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988); and Aline Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Late Antiquity*, trans. Felicia Pheasant (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

33. This book is indebted to the work of architectural historians specializing in the early medieval West, including Werner Jacobsen, *Der Klosterplan von St. Gallen und die karolingische Architektur: Entwicklung und Wandel von Form und Bedeutung im fränkischen Kirchenbau zwischen 751 und 840* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1992); Charles McClendon, *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe, A.D. 600–900* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005); Kim Sexton, “Justice Seen: Loggias and Ethnicity in Early Medieval Italy,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68, no. 3 (2009): 309–37; Richard Krautheimer, “The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture,” in Richard Krautheimer, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York: New York University Press, 1969), pp. 203–56; and Walter Horn

and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy of, and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery*, University of California Studies in the History of Art 19, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979). In the field of architectural theory, the book borrows extensively from the spatial theories of Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Michel de Certeau, "Spatial Stories," and "Walking in the City," chaps. 7 and 9 of his *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 91–110, 115–30; and Steve Pile, *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space, and Subjectivity* (London: Routledge, 1996).

34. From the anthropology of religion, the book incorporates the work of Bruce Kapferer, *A Celebration of Demons: Exorcism and the Aesthetics of Healing in Sri Lanka* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1991); "Sorcery and the Beautiful: A Discourse on the Aesthetics of Ritual," in Angela Hobart and Bruce Kapferer (eds.), *Aesthetics in Performance: Formations of Symbolic Construction and Experience* (New York: Berghahn, 2005), pp. 129–60; JoAnn D'Alisera, *Imagined Geography: Sierra Leonean Muslims in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Janice Boddy, *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men, and the Zār Cult in Northern Sudan* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996); and Mary Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

35. On gender, masculinity, and asceticism in late antiquity as well as issues of gender and sexuality in biblical exegesis, see Peter Brown, *Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Matthew Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Albrecht Diem, *Das monastische Experiment: Die Rolle der Keuschheit bei der Entstehung des westlichen Klosterwesens* (Münster: LIT, 2005); Elizabeth A. Clark, "The Celibate Bridegroom and His Virginal Brides: Metaphor and the Marriage of Jesus in Early Christian Ascetic Exegesis," *Church History* 77, no. 1 (2008): 1–25; Dale B. Martin, *Sex and the Single Savior: Gender and Sexuality in Biblical Interpretation* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006); and Patricia Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination: Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

36. See Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Henri de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, vol. 1, trans. Mark Sebanc (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998); Chazelle and Edwards (eds.), *Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era: Law, Grammar and Grammarians*; Banniard, "Language and Communication in Carolingian Europe"; Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*; and McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*.

37. For the monastic art of memory, see Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For speech and silence, see Paul Gehl, "Competens Silentium: Varieties of Monastic Silence in the Medieval West," *Viator* 18 (1987): 125–60; Scott G. Bruce, "Uttering No Human Sound," chap. 1 of his *Silence and Sign Language in Medieval Monasticism: The Cluniac Tradition, c. 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 13–52;

Conrad Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism from Augustine to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Ambrose Wathen, *Silence: The Meaning of Silence in the Rule of St. Benedict*, Cistercian Studies Series 22 (Washington, D.C.: Cistercian Publications, 1973).

38. See de Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism”; Anne-Marie Helvétius and Michel Kaplan, “Asceticism and Its Institutions,” in Noble and Smith, *Cambridge History of Christianity*, pp. 275–98; and Josef Semmler, “Benedictus II: Una regula—una consuetudo,” in W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (eds.), *Benedictine Culture, 750–1050*, Medievalia Lovaniensia Series 1, Studia 11 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), pp. 1–49.

39. For theories of religious orthopraxy, see Michael Lambek (ed.), “*Praxis: Religious Action*,” part 3 of his *Reader in the Anthropology of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), pp. 330–429.

40. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999); and Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (London: Routledge, 1993).

41. For an alternative vision of how gender played out between churchmen and lay elites, see Rachel Stone, “Bound from Either Side: The Limits of Power in Carolingian Marriage Disputes, 840–870,” *Gender & History* 19 (2001): 467–82. In her work on Anglo-Saxon monasticism, Sarah Foot argues that the line between the cloister and the world was not so sharply drawn. See her *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

42. Mayke de Jong, *The Penitential State: Authority and Atonement in the Age of Louis the Pious, 814–840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 185.

43. Discussed in Mayke de Jong, “Internal Cloisters: The Case of Ekkehard’s *Casus Sancti Galli*,” in Walter Pohl and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *Grenze und Differenz im frühen Mittelalter*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 1 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), pp. 209–21, here p. 211.

44. See the essays in Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). For the education of women in the empire, consult Valerie Garver, *Women and Aristocratic Culture in the Carolingian World* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009).

45. Hrabanus Maurus, *Epistolae*, Ernst Dümmler (ed.), MGH Epp. 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1899), no. 34, p. 469: “alioquin viri vocabulum non rite teneres, si *mollitiem* voluptatum huius saeculi sequeris.”

46. For *mollities* and its attendant classical vocabularies, see Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, pp. 63–97.

47. *Expositio*, p. 407: “Vide modo, quomodo potest manus vel pes aut oculus corpori servire, si non fuerit in corpore? Et ita quomodo potest canonicus aut laicus, qui non est membrum monasterii, monacho, i.e., alieno membro servire?”

48. For the origins of canons and their emergence as objects of church reform, see Martin A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). The

attempt of Carolingian reformers to separate the identities of canons from monks is also discussed in Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, pp. 366–68, and de Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism,” pp. 628–34.

49. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 280 (on the singular nature of monastic practice), pp. 13–14 (on acting in stark contrast to the ways of the world).

50. Ekkehart, *Casus Sancti Galli* 136; text in Gerold Meyer von Knonau (ed.), *Ekkehart's IV. Casus Sancti Galli nebst Proben aus den übrigen lateinisch geschriebenen Abtheilungen der St. Galler Klosterchronik* (Leipzig: F. Duncker, 1878), pp. 226–27; cited and translated in Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:280–81, n. 166.

51. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 505. For the role of ritual gestures such as the ones described by Hildemar, see Philippe Depreux, “Gestures and Comportment at the Carolingian Court: Between Practice and Perception,” *Past and Present* 4 (2009): 57–79.

52. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 319 (on the submissive voice), p. 516 (on clothing).

53. *Ibid.*, p. 497 (on dining with secular lords), p. 606 (on not building near secular courts or even the courts of bishops).

54. By focusing on the body, this book takes its lead from Janet L. Nelson's presidential address to the Royal Historical Society: “England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: IV, Bodies and Minds,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., vol. 15 (2005): 1–27.

55. Discussed in Nelson, “Bodies and Minds,” p. 5.

56. The use of the term “Dark Age,” an unpopular idiom in recent scholarship, is a calculated one in this book. The designation “Dark Age” points to the fact that clerical elites used Christianity and classicizing modes of speech to civilize an age they deemed barbaric. For an examination of the problems associated with broader uses of the term “Dark Age,” see Janet L. Nelson, “The Dark Ages,” *History Workshop* 63 (2007): 191–201; and Yitzhak Hen, *Roman Barbarians: The Royal Court and Culture in the Early Medieval West* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 3–21; Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (New York: Viking/Penguin, 2009), pp. 3–18, details the negative historiographical traditions surrounding the study of the early medieval era.

57. Julia M. H. Smith, “Introduction: Gendering the Early Medieval World,” in Leslie Brubaker and Julia M. H. Smith (eds.), *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 1–19, here p. 16.

58. On the links between ascetic bodies and monastic architecture in late antiquity, see Caroline T. Schroeder, *Monastic Bodies: Discipline and Salvation in Shenoute of Atripe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

59. Ildar H. Garipzanov, *The Symbolic Language of Authority in the Carolingian World (c. 751–877)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 77.

60. Nelson, “Bodies and Minds,” p. 3.

61. For Paul's remark that he wore Jesus “scars” on his body, see Jennifer A. Glancy, “Boastings of Beatings (2 Corinthians 11.23–25),” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123, no. 1 (2004): 99–135.

62. The spiritual roots of monastic bodies as holocaust offerings derive from the writings of Gregory the Great: see Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), esp. chap. 11, “The Just Penitent,” pp. 213–35.

CHAPTER I

1. *Epistolae*, no. 49, p. 504: “Nam si illis Hieronimum, Augustinum, Gregorium Ambrosiumque et ceteros quam plurimos prebuit, et nobis idem opifex eiusdem meriti et scientiae contulit Rhabanum Maurum.”

2. *Paradiso* 12.139: “Rabano è qui, e lucemi dallato”; Italian and English versions of the *Paradiso* available in Robert and Jean Hollander (trans.), *Dante Alighieri, Paradiso* (New York: Doubleday, 2007), p. 286 (Italian) and p. 287 (English). Dante’s use of Hrabanus is discussed in Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, pp. 36–40.

3. Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, pp. 33–50, surveys the medieval and post-medieval readership of Hrabanus’s acrostic poem.

4. Bruce Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 27, refers to Hrabanus as “that great collector of allegorical arcana.”

5. Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire*, pp. 2, 27, 354.

6. For a discussion of the size of Fulda’s monastic community, see Karl Schmid, “Mönchslisten und Klosterkonvent von Fulda zur Zeit der Karolinger,” in Karl Schmid (ed.), *Die Klostersgemeinschaft von Fulda im früheren Mittelalter* (Munich: Fink, 1978), 2.2:612, 632.

7. For the multimedia quality of Hrabanus’s *In honorem sanctae crucis*, see Ulrich Ernst, “Die Kreuzgedichte des Hrabanus Maurus als multimediales Kunstwerk: Textualität–Ikonizität–Numeralität,” in Ulrich Schmitz and Horst Wenzel (eds.), *Wissen und neue Medien: Bilder und Zeichen von 800 bis 2000* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2003), pp. 13–37.

8. *Etymologies* 1.7.1: “Nomen dictum quasi notamen, quod nobis vocabulo suo res notas efficiat. Nisi enim nomen scieris, cognitio rerum perit.” For analysis of Isidore’s *nomina* within their philosophical and pedagogical contexts, see John Henderson, *The Medieval World of Isidore of Seville: Truth from Words* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), especially Henderson’s “Introduction” (pp. 1–9).

9. On the cross-cultural intellectual environment of Carolingian writers, see Matthew Innes (eds.), “Teutons or Trojans? The Carolingians and the Germanic Past,” in Hen and Innes (eds.), *Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 227–49.

10. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), p. 315, and Michel Perrin, *Louanges de la sainte croix*, p. 17, both discuss the Germanic origins of the name Hrabanus.

11. Perrin, *Louanges de la sainte croix*, p. 17. For the mythological background to Odin, see Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, “Religions Old and New,” in Peter Sawyer

(ed.), *Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 202–24.

12. On the apotropaic power of coins, see Henry MacGuire, “Money and Magic in the Early Middle Ages,” *Speculum* 72, no. 4 (1997): 1037–54; and Karl Hauck, “Missionsgeschichte in veränderter Sicht: Sakrale Zentren als methodischer Zugang zu den heidnischen und christlichen Amulettbildern der Übergangsepoche von der Antike zum Mittelalter,” in Lutz Fenske, Werner Rösener, and Thomas Zotz (eds.), *Institutionen, Kultur und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Josef Fleckenstein zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1984), pp. 1–28.

13. *Etymologies* 12.7.43: “Hic prior in cadaveribus oculum petit.”

14. J. E. Lendon, *Soldiers and Ghosts: A History of Battle in Classical Antiquity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 172–73.

15. Peter Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200–1000*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 157.

16. For the connection of the raven to the arts of prophecy, see Horace, *Odes* 3.27.11; English translation by Rachel Hadas available in J. D. McClatchy (ed.), *Horace, the Odes: New Translations by Contemporary Poets* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 231; and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.329, in Rolfe Humphries (trans.), *Ovid, Metamorphosis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), p. 117. For the constellation Corvus, see Vitruvius Pollio, *De architectura* 9.5, in Ingrid D. Rowland (trans.), *Vitruvius: Ten Books on Architecture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 80–81. For augury and the *corvus*, see Plautus, *Asinaria* 2.1.12; in Paul Nixon (trans.), *Plautus*, 5 vols., Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, and London: William Heinemann, 1950), 1:151; and Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.85; in David Wardle (trans.), *Cicero on Divination, Book 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), p. 73.

17. For example, the Corvus constellation appears in a negative light in the Astronomer’s *vita* of Louis the Pious; see Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, Ernst Tremp (ed.), MGH SS rer. Germ. 64 (Hanover: Hahn, 1995), chap. 58, pp. 518–20. For the larger context of astronomy in the Frankish world, see Paul Dutton, “Of Carolingian Kings and Their Stars,” chap. 4 of his *Charlemagne’s Mustache and Other Cultural Clusters of a Dark Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 93–127.

18. *De rerum naturis* 6.1; text in PL III, col. 146.

19. Alcuin, *Carmina*, Ernst Dümmler (ed.), MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), no. 57, pp. 269–70 (on the cuckoo); no. 61, pp. 274–75 (on the nightingale). For an overview of Alcuin’s life and works, see Donald A. Bullough, “Charlemagne’s ‘Men of God,’” in Joanna Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 136–50.

20. *Epistolae*, Ernst Dümmler (ed.), MGH Epp. 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), no. 181, pp. 299–300: “Qui modo mense Septembrio nidum revisere volat amatum, ut pullos, avidis hiantes rostris, pietatis pascat granulis.” Here Alcuin returns to his academic *nidus* each September like a professor beginning the fall term.

21. For Christ as an eagle, see Hrabanus’s *In honorem sanctae crucis* (CCCM 100, p. 32): “Aquila, propter quod post resurrectionem ad astra remeavit.”

22. See, for example, Alcuin, *Carmina*, no. 57 (pp. 269–70), and *Epistolae*, no. 181 (299–300), and Theodulf of Orléans, *Carmina*, Ernst Dümmler (ed.), MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), no. 27 (pp. 490–93). Theodulf's *Carmen* 27 discussed by Dieter Schaller, "Der junge Raban am Hof Karls des Grossen (Theodulf. *carm.* 27)," in Johanne Autenrieth and Franz Brunhölzl (eds.), *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1971), pp. 123–41; and Dutton, *Charlemagne's Mustache*, p. 47. Animal imagery in the poetic circles of Charlemagne's court is treated in Jan M. Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals: Medieval Latin Beast Poetry, 750–1150* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 47–66.

23. See Hrabanus, *Epistolae*, no. 14 (p. 403): "M litteram Mauri nomen exprimentem, quod meus magister beatae memoriae Albinus mihi indidit." For a discussion of Hrabanus's name, consult Maria Rissel, *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus: Studien zur karolingischen Geistesgeschichte*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 7 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1976), p. 8; and Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, pp. 199, 315.

24. Perrin, *Louanges de la sainte croix*, p. 17. For general surveys of Hrabanus's life and works, see Stephanie Haarländer, *Rabanus Maurus zum Kennenlernen: Ein Lesebuch mit einer Einführung in sein Leben und Werk* (Mainz: Bistum, 2006), pp. 14–60; and Hans-Jürgen Kotzur (ed.), *Rabanus Maurus: Auf den Spuren eines karolingischen Gelehrten* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), pp. 15–19.

25. Theodulf of Orléans, *Carmina*, no. 27 (pp. 492–93), addresses the "little raven" as a member of the Alcuin court circle. Franz Brunhölzl, "Zur geistigen Bedeutung des Hrabanus Maurus," in Raymund Kottje and Harald Zimmermann (eds.), *Hrabanus Maurus: Lehrer, Abt, und Bischof* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), pp. 1–17, here p. 3, refers to Hrabanus as a *blutjunger Mensch*.

26. The *Annales* of Fulda give Hrabanus's birth date as 780, but recently scholars have challenged the reliability of this entry, preferring the date 783 instead. For discussions of the evidence for Hrabanus's birth date, see E. Freise, "Zum Geburtsjahr des Hrabanus Maurus," in Kottje and Zimmermann, *Hrabanus Maurus*, p. 60; Perrin's edition of Hrabanus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, pp. v–vi; Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, p. 12, and de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 74–77. For the regional environment of Fulda, see Janneke Raaijmakers, "Sacred Time, Sacred Space: History and Identity at the Monastery of Fulda (744–856)" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Amsterdam, 2003), pp. 1–9. I would like to thank Dr. Raaijmakers for the gift copy of her important dissertation.

27. For early medieval Mainz, see Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages, 400–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 96–98.

28. McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 158.

29. For the charters, see Edmund E. Stengel (ed.), *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Fulda, Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck* 10/1 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1958), pp. 271–72 (no. 177), and p. 272 (no. 178). For discussions of Hrabanus's early life and kinship group, see Franz Staab, "Wann wurde Hrabanus Maurus Mönch in Fulda?" in Kottje and Zimmermann (eds.), *Hrabanus Maurus*, pp. 75–101;

Chris Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 394–97; Julia M. H. Smith, *Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History, 500–1000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 47; Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 64–69; and de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 75.

30. Innes, *State and Society*, p. 65.

31. For Hrabanus's consecration as deacon, see *Annales Laurissenses minores*, MGH SS I, p. 120; cited by Rissel, *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus*, p. 8.

32. *Epistola de litteris colendis*; text in MGH Capit. I, p. 79, no. 29. Discussed by McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 316.

33. Hrabanus journeyed to Fulda in around 802, the year Baugulf resigned as abbot and Ratgar took over. For Alcuin and Hrabanus within the larger context of Carolingian intellectual culture, see Albrecht Classen, "Alkuin und Hrabanus Maurus: Zwei Gelehrte der karolingischen Renaissance," in Ulrich Müller and Werner Wunderlich (eds.), *Künstler, Dichter, Gelehrte, Mittelalter Mythen* 4 (Konstanz: UVK, 2005), pp. 805–24. For Alcuin's administration of the monastery at Tours, see Martina Hartmann, "Alcuin et la gestion matérielle de Saint-Martin de Tours," *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest* III, no. 3 (2004): 91–102.

34. Discussed by Thomas Stehling, *Medieval Latin Poems of Male Love and Friendship* (New York: Garland, 1984), pp. xvii–xxvi; John Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980), pp. 188–94, and by C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 42–50.

35. *Carmina*, no. 11 (p. 236).

36. *Epistolae*, no. 10 (p. 36): "et quam compressis labris non solum oculos aures et os, sed etiam manuum vel pedum singulos digitorum articulos, non semel, sed multoties oscularer." Kissing does have an important ritual context in the Carolingian world; see Depreux, "Gestures and Comportment at the Carolingian Court," p. 63. Alcuin's decision to pair kissing with licking, however, is rather unusual.

37. Steven D. Moore, *God's Beauty Parlor and Other Queer Spaces In and Around the Bible* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 28.

38. See Werner Krenkel, "Fellatio et Irrumatio," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Wilhelm Pieck-Universität Rostock* 29 (1980): 77–88, and Holt N. Parker, "The Teratogenic Grid," in Judith P. Hallet and Marilyn B. Skinner (eds.), *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 47–65. See also J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), pp. 134–36, and Richlin, *Garden of Priapus*, pp. 82–83, 93–94, 108–9, 132, 148–51, 169.

39. *Epistolae*, no. 142 (p. 224): "Feliciter vive cum pueris tuis et in poculo caritatis."

40. "Sancte puer Benedicti Maure"; Alcuin, *Carmina*, no. 3 (p. 264).

41. *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 5.

Nempe ego cum fueram custos humilisque minister
Istius Ecclesiae, dogmata sacra legens,

Hunc puerum docui divini famine verbi
 Ethicae monitis et sophiae studiis.
 Ipse quidem Francus genere est, atque incola silvae
 Boconiae, huc missus discere verba Dei.
 Abbas namque suus, Fuldensis rector ovilis,
 Illum huc direxit ad tua tecta, pater,
 Quod mecum legeret metri scolasticus artem,
 Scripturam et sacram rite pararet ovans.

42. On the Carolingian culture of poetry, see John J. Contreni, “The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literacy Culture,” in McKitterick (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, 2:709–57, here pp. 753–56.

43. For Gregory of Nazianzus as poet-autobiographer, see Raymond Van Dam, *Becoming Christian: The Conversion of Roman Cappadocia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 174; for Romanos, see Derek Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 159–88.

44. For an allegorical reading of eight as a signifier of the Resurrection, see Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis* 18.3 (PL III, col. 491): “Octo enim ad diem Dominicae Resurrectionis sive omnium sanctorum futuram resurrectionem pertinent.”

45. Hrabanus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 19: “quod idem et Porphyrius fecit, secundum cuius exemplar litteras spargere didici.”

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–22. In the poem itself, Hrabanus uses the number eight as a marker of the resurrection of Jesus.

47. *Ibid.*, image on p. 4, dedicatory poem on p. 5.

48. I wish to thank Eric Goldberg for this point.

49. Hrabanus as a “foursquare man” of scripture is discussed in Henri de Lubac’s classic work in the history of biblical exegesis: *Medieval Exegesis*, pp. 106–12.

50. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:74–85, on the human body as the fundamental measure of early medieval architectural design.

51. Hidemar of Civate, *Expositio*, p.183: “Dicunt enim multi, quia claustra monasterii centum pedes debet habere in omni parte.”

52. Hrabanus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, pp. 63–73, 101–5, 121–27. See also Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, p. 77.

53. Hrabanus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 17: “offerebam has primitias, in laudem sanctae crucis expansas, quae columna est caelestis aedificii, in qua videlicet constructa est domus Christi.”

54. The foursquare visual structure of *In honorem sanctae crucis* is noted by de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, III. The resonance of the twenty-eight images of the text with the cross is also discussed in Christian Heck, “Raban Maur, Bernard de Clairvaux, Bonaventure: Expression de l’espace et topographie spirituelle dans les images médiévales,” in Jeffrey F. Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouché (eds.), *The Mind’s Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 113–23.

55. Hrabanus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 61.

56. MGH SS 15/1, p. 339 (on the four-columned tombs and their foursquare verse).

57. The estimated size of the cloister is based on incomplete archaeological investigation carried out in the early twentieth century at Fulda. Evidence summarized in McClen-
don, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 161.

58. Celia Chazelle (*Crucified God*, p. 110) characterizes *In honorem sanctae crucis* as a memorial to Alcuin. In Epistle 142 addressed to Hrabanus, Alcuin prompts the young poet to send him a copy of a *libellus* he had written (see Alcuin, *Epistolae*, pp. 223–24).

59. Bernhard Bischoff, “Die Bibliothek im Dienste der Schule,” in his *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1981), 3:227.

60. Rissel, *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus*, p. 11. For the expansion and holdings of the Fulda scriptorium, see Gangolf Schrimpf, Josef Leinweber, and Thomas Martin (eds.), *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse des Klosters Fulda und andere Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im Mittelalter* (Frankfurt: J. Knecht, 1992); Karl Christ, *Die Bibliothek des Klosters Fulda im 16. Jahrhundert: Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse*, Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 64 (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1933); and Paul Lehmann, *Die alte Klosterbibliothek in Fulda und ihre Bedeutung. Rede anlässlich der 150. Jahrfeier der Landesbibliothek Fulda* (Fulda: Kommissionsverlag der Fuldaer Actiendruckerei, 1928). Consult also McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 169–70, and her *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, pp. 40–42, 188–91. For Hrabanus’s contribution to the library’s holdings, see Her-
rad Spilling, “Das Fuldaer Skriptorium zur Zeit des Hrabanus Maurus,” in Kottje and Zimmermann (eds.), *Hrabanus Maurus*, pp. 165–81. Among Fulda’s most impressive classical and late antique tomes were those of Cicero, Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Columella, Tertullian, Cassiodorus, Jordanes. For a discussion of leather-bound codices produced at Fulda during Hrabanus’s tenure as abbot, see Jean Vezin, “Cinq reliures de cuir décorées à Fulda au temps de Raban Maur” in Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda and Jean-François Genest (eds.), *Du copiste au collectionneur: Mélanges d’histoire des texts et des bibliothèques en l’honneur d’André Vernet*, Bibliologia 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 267–84.

61. *Carmina*, no. 23, p. 187:

Dicere quid possum de magna laude librorum,
Quos sub clave tenes, frater amate, tuo?
Quicquid ab arce deus caeli direxit in orbem,
Scripturae sanctae per pia verba viris
Illic invenies, quicquid sapientia mundi
Protulit in medium temporibus variis.

The necrology of Fulda lists a monk named Gerhoh, who died in 818; see *Annales Necrologici Fuldenses* entry under A.D. 818 (MGH SS 13, p. 171). For a discussion of Fulda’s

necrology, see Janneke Raaijmakers, “Memory and Identity: The Annales necrologici of Fulda,” in Corradini et al. (eds.), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 303–21.

62. For a detailed analysis of the Salvator and its controversial construction, see Chapters 2 and 5. Richard Krautheimer discusses the evolution of the Salvator basilica from Fulda’s founder Sturm through Ratgar’s successor Eigil; see his “Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture.” The Carolingian complex has been reconstructed largely through archaeological excavations, seventeenth-century plans (i.e., before the demolition of the medieval basilica to build its Baroque counterpart), and ninth-century descriptions (Krautheimer, “Carolingian Revival,” p. 209). Charles B. McClendon provides a historiographical discussion of the continued influence of Krautheimer’s theories of Carolingian architecture as well as a critique. See his “Louis the Pious, Rome, and Constantinople,” in Cecil L. Striker (ed.), *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer* (Mainz: Zabern, 1996), pp. 103–6. Werner Jacobsen refines Krautheimer’s original, structural study: see his “Die Abteikirche St. Salvator und Bonifatius in Fulda,” in *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 193–99, and “Die Abteikirche in Fulda von Sturmius bis Eigil: Kunstpolitische Positionen und deren Veränderungen,” in Gangolf Schrimpf (ed.), *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen* (Frankfurt: J. Knecht, 1996), pp. 105–27. Finally, Raaijmakers extends the historical and cultural context of the Salvator project: see her chapter “God’s *ecclesia*,” in “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” pp. 93–133.

63. The Fulda monks’ list of complaints against Ratgar can be found in the ca. 812–817 *Supplex libellus monachorum Fuldensium Carolo imperatori porrectus*; text in J. Semmler (ed.), CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), pp. 319–27.

64. The fate of Ratgar is discussed in Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” p. 87.

65. Brun Candidus, *Vita Eigilis* 6.3: “quod pater Aegil propter aetatis suae maturitatem, immo etiam et gravitatem morum suorum”; text in Gereon Becht-Jördens (ed.), *Vita Aegil Abbatis Fuldensis a Candido ad Modestum edita prosa et versibus: Ein Opus geminum des IX. Jahrhunderts* (Marburg: Selbstverlag, 1994), p. 8. Candidus’s *Life* will subsequently be referred to as the *VE* and will be accompanied by parenthetical page numbers referencing Becht-Jörden’s edition of the Latin text.

66. For the characterization of Ratgar as a “quarrelsome abbot” who sparked factionalism in the monastery, see *VE* 5.8 (p. 7).

67. *VE* 10.5: “Immensa vero aedificia, pater, et opera non necessaria, quibus familiae foris et intus fratrum congregatio fatigatur” (p. 12). The *Supplex libellus* (pp. 319–27) lists the following charges against Ratgar: the abbot had interfered with the traditional liturgical celebrations of the monastery; he had interrupted the time set aside for spiritual reading; he was harsh in his treatment of elderly and weak monks; he neglected the hospitable duties of the abbey; he had placed laymen in administrative positions in Fulda’s satellite houses; and he had improperly used the finances of the monastery. Clearly, Eigil’s hagiographer wants his targeted audience to believe that Ratgar had violated all the major precepts of the Benedictine Rule. Wenger, “Hrabanus Maurus, Fulda, and Carolingian Spirituality,” pp. 106–10, details and discusses the charges against Ratgar in the *Supplex libellus*.

68. *Epistolae*, no. 5 (p. 389). Hrabanus's language here echoes that of Bede. See Michelle P. Brown, *The Lindisfarne Gospels: Society, Spirituality, and the Scribe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 397.

69. *VE* 5.6 (p. 7).

70. Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, pp. 224, 236 (Latin), pp. 235, 237 (English).

71. Hrabanus, *Carmina*, no. 20 (pp. 185–86):

Iam mihi concessit bonitas tua discere libros,
Sed me paupertas suffocat ingenii,
Me quia quaecunque docuerunt ore magistri,
Ne vaga mens perdat, cuncta dedi foliis.
Hinc quoque nunc constant glosae parvique libelli,
Quos precor indigno reddere praecipias.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 186: "Servi quicquid habent, dominorum iure tenetur,/Sic ego quae scripsi, omnia iure tenes."

73. *Ibid.*: "Ne vaga mens perdat, cuncta dedi foliis."

74. Hrabanus, *Carmina*, no. 40.8–9 (pp. 204–5); discussed by Wenger, "Hrabanus Maurus," pp. 104–5.

75. *VE* 3–5 (pp. 5–7).

76. For Eigil's addition of two hall crypts, see Gereon Becht-Jördens, "Text Bild und Architektur als Träger einer ekklesiologischen Konzeption von Klostergeschichte: Die karolingische Vita Aegil des Brun Candidus von Fulda (ca. 840)," in Gottfried Kerscher (ed.), *Hagiographie und Kunst: Der Heiligenkult in Schrift, Bild und Architektur* (Berlin: D. Reimer, 1993), pp. 75–106. Werner Jacobsen places the Fulda crypts within the larger architectural context of Frankish tombs; see his "Saints' Tombs in Frankish Church Architecture," *Speculum* 72, no. 4 (1997): 1107–43.

77. *VE* 17.1: "cum consilio et fratrum consensu ecclesiam parvam aedificavit rotundam, ubi defuncta corpora fratrum sepulturae tradita requiescunt, quam cimiterium vocant, quod Graece dicitur KOIMHΘHRION, Latine vero dormitorium interpretatur" (p. 16). For the architecture of the Michael Rotunda, see Carol Heitz, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne: Les formes et leurs fonctions* (Paris: Picard, 1980), pp. 104–5.

78. On the links between the Holy Sepulchre and the Fulda round church, see Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 121–22, 126.

79. Heitz, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne*, pp. 100, 104–6. See also Jonathan Z. Smith's essay on the symbolic transport of the Holy Sepulchre in the West: "Constructing a Small Place," in Benjamin Z. Kedar and R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (eds.), *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), pp. 18–150. Smith mentions the Fulda rotunda (pp. 20–21).

80. For Eigil's initiative to move the Fulda cloister from its original position in the south to the west of the basilica, see *VE* 19.2: "Quidam dederunt consilium contra partem meridianam basilicae iuxta morem prioris, quidam autem Romano more contra plagam

occidentalem satius poni confirmant propter vicinitatem martyris, qui in ea basilicae parte quiescit” (p. 17).

81. *Epistolae*, nos. 21–22 (pp. 186–87). In Epistle 22, line 11, Hrabanus quotes from Virgil (*Aeneid* 7.558), assimilating the Christian God to the divine ruler of Olympus.

82. See Hrabanus Maurus, *Tituli ecclesiae Fuldensis*, Ernst Dümmler (ed.), in MGH Poetae 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 205–14.

83. Hrabanus in his architectural *tituli* informs us that Bishop Haistulf of Mainz consecrated the apse shrine to Boniface on 1 November 819: “Quod super exstructum Heistolf sacraverat,” MGH Poetae 2, p. 206. Consecration of the basilica and the Michael Rotunda are also described in *VE* 15.1–4, 18.1–2 (pp. 15, 16–17).

84. *Epistolae*, no. 3 (p. 385): “aliquod munusculum.” For the complete text of *De institutione clericorum*, see Zimpel’s edition. Zimpel (p. 18) notes that Hrabanus’s discussion of priestly garb was the most copied and cited section of *De institutione clericorum*. On 1 November 852, Bishop Hrabanus dedicated Louis the German’s royal chapel at Frankfurt. The first of November, All Saints’ Day, represents an exceptional day on which to celebrate the holy dead and the ritualized spaces in which they come to rest. See Eric Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press), p. 163. Rosamond McKitterick notes that festivals devoted to All Saints on the first of November appear to have been an innovation of Charlemagne’s court at Aachen; see her *Charlemagne*, p. 325.

85. *Epistolae*, no. 3 (p. 387): “Abbas namque meus vesterque fidelis amicus/Aegil haec voluit reddere dona tibi.”

86. See, for example, the question and response section on apostolic preaching in *De institutione clericorum* 3.34 (pp. 497–502).

87. *Ibid.*, 3.18 (p. 470). Hrabanus’s use of the “captive woman” topos is discussed in M. L. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, c. 500–900* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1931), p. 307.

88. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 127–29.

89. Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* (pp. 281–82): “Sed non in hoc satis eis facere potui, qui me instantissime postulabant immo cogeabant, ut omnia haec in unum volumen congerem, ut haberent, quo aliquo modo inquisitionibus suis satisfacerent, et in uno codice simul scriptum reperirent, quod antea non simul, sed speciatim singuli, prout interrogabant, in foliis scripta habuerant.” The patristic writers cited by Hrabanus include Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, John Cassian, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, and Bede (Isidore and Bede being the most important authorities for issues of priestly dress).

90. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

91. *Epistolae*, no. 4 (pp. 387–88). Hrabanus dedicated the *computus* to a monk named Macharius. For the text, see Hrabanus Maurus, *Martyrologium*, John McCulloh and Wesley M. Stevens (eds.), CCCM 44 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), pp. 163–331. Richard Corradini situates Hrabanus’s *computus* within the contexts of the Ratgar controversy, Carolingian *renovatio*, and historical memory. See his “The Rhetoric of Crisis: *Computus*

and *Liber Annalis* in Early Ninth-Century Fulda,” in Richard Corradini, Max Diesenberger, and Helmut Reimitz (eds.), *The Construction of Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 269–321. For a reading of the *computus* with sensitivity to audience and religious practice, see Christopher Craun, “A Contextualization of Hrabanus Maurus’s *Martyrologium*” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of St. Andrews, 2005).

92. For the dedication of the commentary on Matthew to Haistulf, see *Epistolae*, no. 5 (pp. 388–90). For the text, see Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matthaeum*, B. Löfstedt (ed.), CCCM 174–174A (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

93. *Epistolae*, no. 5 (p. 388): “ut lector pauperculus, qui copiam librorum non habet, aut cui in pluribus scrutari profundos sensus patrum non licet.”

94. *Ibid.*, no. 10 (p. 396): “mirari me, quare ad tale studium vilem et inertem homunculum eligeres.”

95. Rudolf of Fulda, *Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum* 15, Georg Waitz (ed.), MGH SS 15/1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1887), p. 340.

96. Silvia Cantelli Berarducci, “L’esegesi della rinascita carolingia,” in Giuseppe Cremascoli and Claudio Leonardi (eds.), *La Bibbia nel Medio Evo*, La Bibbia nella storia 16 (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane, 1996), pp. 167–98, here p. 171, n. 13. Berarducci notes that Jerome also used Hesychius’s commentary on Leviticus, so some of Hrabanus’s citations may be mediated through Jerome’s writings.

97. For a detailed discussion of Hrabanus’s commentary on Leviticus, see Lynda Coon, “‘What Is the Word If Not Semen?’ Priestly Bodies in Carolingian Exegesis,” in Brubaker and Smith (eds.), *Gender in the Early Medieval World*, pp. 278–300. For the transmission of Origen to the High Middle Ages, see Philippe Le Maître, “Les méthodes exégétiques de Raban Maur,” in Claude Lepelley et al. (eds.), *Haut Moyen-Âge: Culture, éducation, et société*, Études offertes à Pierre Riché (Nanterre: Editions Publidix, 1990), pp. 343–52, here, p. 347.

98. See Le Maître, “Méthodes exégétiques de Raban Maur,” pp. 348–49.

99. *Epistolae*, nos. 18 (p. 423) and 19 (p. 424). Hrabanus’s use of Josephus discussed in Bat-Sheva Albert, “*Adversus Iudaeos*,” in the Carolingian Empire,” in Ora Limor and Guy G. Stroumsa (eds.), *Contra Iudaeos: Ancient and Medieval Polemics Between Jews and Christians* (Tübingen: J. B. C. Mohr, 1996), pp. 119–42, here p. 130.

100. Hrabanus himself comments on kashrut laws in Leviticus (PL 108, cols. 354–55) and the priestly torah’s presentation of leprosy (PL 108, cols. 390–91), which he believes is an affliction of the body connected with Adam’s fall from grace.

101. For Hrabanus’s discussion of his system of notation, including his use of *M* for his own contributions, see Epistle 14 (*Epistolae*, pp. 402–3): “prout divina gratia mihi concedere dignata est, de novo dictavi, *M* litteram Mauri nomen experimentem.” Giles Brown notes that in his commentary on Matthew, Hrabanus’s own exegesis amounts to approximately 50 percent of the entire text, thereby making the point that the Fulda exegete was adding to the extant corpus of Christian biblical interpolation; see his “The Carolingian Renaissance,” in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1–51, here p. 41.

102. *VE* 20.1: “Disputationem quoque saepius cum Hrabano magistro, qui ei erat speciali familiaritate connexus, excaepit et frequenter in disputando ad hoc solummodo nos cum ipso in eius praesentia concitavit, ut secundum sententiam Salomonis audiens sapiens sapientior efficeretur” (p. 17).

103. *VE* 17.1–7 (p. 16).

104. *VE* 25.1: “Cum autem, ut supra commemoravi, aedificium claustrum iam ex parte in altum crescendo profecisset, idem venerabilis pater correptus morbo coepit acriter infirmari” (p. 20). For the estimated dimensions of the Fulda cloister, see McClendon, *Origins of Early Medieval Architecture*, p. 161. McClendon cautions that these dimensions are theoretical and based on incomplete archaeological excavations carried out in the early twentieth century.

105. *VE* 25.8: “Fratres vero post haec secundum consuetudinem patrum tulerunt corpus cari senioris et cantantes atque orantes in ecclesiam deferebant et ibi oratione completa levaverunt corpus eius et sepelierunt in sepulchro” (p. 20).

106. For a bibliography of (largely) German secondary literature on Hrabanus from 1500 to 1983, see Helmut Spelsberg, *Hrabanus Maurus: Bibliographie* (Fulda: Hessische Landesbibliothek, 1984). One of the more influential early monographs on Hrabanus (and one that advocated his role as *praeceptor Germaniae*) is that by Friedrich Kunstmann, *Hrabanus Magnentius Maurus: Eine historische Monographie* (Mainz: Schott und Thielmann, 1841).

107. See Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 181–85; Hans J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early Medieval Europe: Alsace and the Eastern Frankish Realm, 600–1000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), chap. 5, “The Politics of Old German,” pp. 130–54. Innes, *State and Society*, p. 130. Rachel Fulton also discusses the preservation of the vernacular at Fulda; see her *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), chap. 1, “History Conversion, and the Saxon Christ,” esp. pp. 26–27. Also consult Cyril Edwards, “German Vernacular Literature,” in McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture*, pp. 154–58; Wolfgang Haubrichs, “Althochdeutsch in Fulda und Weissenburg—Hrabanus Maurus und Otfrid von Weissenburg,” in Kottje and Zimmermann (eds.), *Hrabanus Maurus*, pp. 182–93; and Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 115–21. See Otfrid of Weissenburg, *Liber evangeliorum*, Oskar Erdmann (ed.), *Otfrids Evangelienbuch*, Altdutsche Textbibliothek 49 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1973), for the text of his gospel book.

108. Newer views of the abbot are summarized by Raymund Kottje, “Hrabanus Maurus—Praeceptor Germaniae?” in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 31 (1975): 534–45.

109. See especially the work of Mayke de Jong.

110. Evidence for the new scholarly trends on Hrabanus summarized in Coon, “What Is the Word If Not Semen?” For Hrabanus and Judaism, the classic work remains Avrom Saltman, “Hebrew Scholarship in the Carolingian Renaissance,” introduction to his *Pseudo-Jerome: Quaestiones on the Book of Samuel* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 3–29.

111. Mayke de Jong, “Old Law and New-Found Power: Hrabanus Maurus and the

Old Testament,” in Jan Willem Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 161–76, here p. 163.

112. Hrabanus dedicated his Torah commentaries to his friend Bishop Freulf of Lisieux (*Epistolae*, nos. 7–12, pp. 391–400); Hrabanus dedicated his exposition on the epistles of Paul to Abbot Lupus of Ferrières (no. 23, pp. 429–30).

113. De Jong, “Old Law and New-Found Power,” p. 166.

114. *Ibid.*, pp. 169–70.

115. For Hrabanus’s mention of court readers, see Epistles 34, 37, and 50 (*Epistolae*, pp. 468, 473, and 505).

116. In his prologue to the *Life of Eigil*, Candidus notes that Abbot Eigil had asked him to write a *vita* of Baugulf; see *VE* prologue 2.1 (p. 4). Wenger, “Hrabanus Maurus,” p. 122, discusses the lives of the Fulda abbots.

117. Wesley M. Stevens, “Fulda Scribes at Work: Bodleian Library Manuscript Canonici Miscellaneous 353,” *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972), pp. 287–316.

118. *Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum* 15, p. 340: “Unde etiam hortatu fratrum suorum atque amicorum adgressus est scribere expositiones divinatorum librorum tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti.”

119. *Ibid.*: “Nam, ut ipse testatus est, primum scripsit anno aetatis suae circiter trigesimo in laudem sanctae crucis duos libellos, hoc est unum metrico stylo cum figures mysticis.”

120. *Ibid.*, pp. 340–41.

121. Possidius, *Life of Augustine of Hippo*, PL 32, cols. 33–66. Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, pp. 31–32, compares Rudolf’s *vita* with that of Possidius in terms of their focus on literary production.

122. Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica* 6.24–25, 32, 36; in Andrew Louth (ed.) and G. A. Williamson (trans.), *Eusebius, The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (London: Penguin 1989), pp. 200–202, 205, 207.

123. Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 5.24; Latin text with English translation available in Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (eds.), *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), pp. 566–70 (Latin) and pp. 567–71 (English).

124. *Annales* of Fulda, entry under 844: “Hrabanus quoque, sophista et poetarum sui temporis poetarum nulli secundus”; text in Friedrich Kurze (ed.), *MGH SS rer. Germ.* 7 (Hanover: Hahn, 1891), p. 35.

125. *Catalogus abbatum Fuldensium*; text in Georg Waitz (ed.), *MGH SS* 13 (Hanover: Hahn, 1881), p. 273: “Abbas quintus, vir venerandus, rector et doctor opimus Rhabanus . . . fecit et bibliothecam [quam] tanta librorum multitudine ditavit, ut vix dinumerari queant.”

126. Rissel, *Rezeption antiker und patristischer Wissenschaft bei Hrabanus Maurus*, p. 9.

127. *Epistolae*, no. 59 (p. 516).

128. *VE*, prologue 1.1: “‘Exerce,’ inquit, ‘temet ipsum legendo et aliquid utilitatis adde dictando. Nam dum ego ibidem, ubi nunc ipse moraris, quondam commanerem, librum prosa et versibus in laudem sanctae crucis Divina gratia inspirante incepti atque fidelibus legendum studioso labore consummavi’” (p. 3).

129. This Fulda style of spiritual leadership was anticipated in the mid-eighth century by the visionary Chrodegang of Metz; see Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 248–63.

130. David Appleby, “Rudolf, Abbot Hrabanus and the Ark of the Covenant Reliquary,” *American Benedictine Review* 46, no. 4 (1995): 419–43.

131. Bat-Sheva Albert discusses Hrabanus’s role in the promulgation of Fulda as pilgrimage site in her *Le pèlerinage à l’époque carolingienne*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique 82 (Bruxelles: Nauwelaerts, 1999), pp. 198, 215; see also Petra Kehl, *Kult und Nachleben des heiligen Bonifatius im Mittelalter (754–1200)*, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Abtei und der Diözese Fulda 26 (Fulda: Parzeller, 1993), pp. 32–51.

132. *Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum* 14, p. 340.

133. For the *turris* monument, see *ibid.*, p. 339; discussed in John Crook, *Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300–1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 249–51. For the transport of Roman relics north of the Alps, see Julia M. H. Smith, “Old Saints, New Cults: Roman Relics in Carolingian Francia,” in Julia M. H. Smith (ed.), *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honor of Donald Bullough* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 317–39.

134. “Hrabanus humilis condidit hunc tumulum”; see *Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum* 14, p. 339.

135. See Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 172–81.

136. Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 145–53 (or the recruitment of the Frankish army).

137. Perrin, *Lounges*, p. 17.

138. Epistle 28 (*Epistolae*, pp. 443–44). For a discussion of Hrabanus’s work on the Lamentations of Jeremiah, see E. Ann Matter, “The Lamentations Commentaries of Hrabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus,” *Traditio* 38 (1982): 137–63.

139. Epistle 46 (*Epistolae*, pp. 500–501): “Memor clementie vestre et mansuetudinis, qua me preterito tempore in Mogontiaci oppido indignum suscepistis, quando ibi apud dominum Hlotharium imperatorem presentialiter affuistis.” For a discussion of Hrabanus’s exegetical texts aimed at Frankish royal women, see Mayke de Jong, “Exegesis for an Empress,” in Esther Cohen and Mayke de Jong (eds.), *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 69–100.

140. Epistle 30 (*Epistolae*, pp. 448–49): “Hluduwici enim regis adventus, quod te scire non ambigo, nobis imminens urgebat, ut ad eius susceptionem occupati essemus, nec iam licuit securae lectioni insistere, quando ipse animus sentiebat se in multas partes esse divisum.” This epistle is discussed by de Jong, “Old Law and New-Found Power,” p. 167.

141. The political maneuvers of the two brothers are analyzed in Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 99–101; and Innes, *State and Society*, p. 68.

142. The Petersberg was known as the Ugesberg until the eleventh century; see Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” p. 174, n. 36. For the date of Hrabanus’s retirement, see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 96–97, n. 51.

143. Epistle 40 addressed to Hrabanus; text in Ernst Dümmler (ed.), MGH Epp. 6 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), p. 48: “Ceterum audiui sarcinam administrationis vestrae vos deposuisse et rebus divinis solummodo nunc esse intentos, Hattoni vero nostro curam sudoris plenam reliquisse.”

144. Rudolf, *Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum* 15, p. 340.

145. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 96–97.

146. Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” p. 1.

147. On Gundram, see Lynda Coon, “Historical Fact and Exegetical Fiction in the Carolingian *Vita S. Sualonis*,” *Church History* 72, no. 1 (2003): 1–24.

148. Wenger, “Hrabanus Maurus,” p. 158, argues that the choice of Hatto, one of Hrabanus’s oldest and closest friends, as the next abbot of Fulda suggests that the monastery’s fifth abbot had a say in the election of its sixth.

149. *Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum* 14, p. 339: “Aedificavit etiam ecclesiam valde conspicuam in monte excelso 12 fere stadiis ad orientem a suo monasterio distantem.”

150. Rosamond McKitterick argues that the cell referred to in this poem is the one Alcuin inhabited at York and not Aachen; see her *Charlemagne*, p. 140, n. 6, and p. 348.

151. “O mea cella, mihi habitatio dulcis, amata,/Semper in aeternum, o mea cella, vale”; Alcuin, *Carmina*, no. 23, p. 243). For the Latin text and the full translation of Alcuin’s *Carmen* 23, see Peter Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London: Duckworth, 1985), pp. 124–27.

152. See Heitz, *L’architecture religieuse carolingienne*, p. 141. Heitz notes that this structure on the Petersberg resonates with other Carolingian building typologies, such as the crypts located at the abbey of Schlüchtern and Einhard’s crypt at Steinbach.

153. For an analysis of the visual and spatial cultures of the Petersberg, see Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” pp. 174–81. For the early medieval history of the Petersberg as well as a discussion of its crypts, cloister, upper church, and their artistic repertoires, see Josef Schwarz, *St. Peter: Petersberg bei Fulda* (Fulda: Rindt, 1996), pp. 1–6, 10–31.

154. Dedicatory epistle for the Daniel commentary addressed to Louis the German (Hrabanus, *Epistolae*, no. 34, pp. 467–69); dedicatory epistle for the Ezekiel commentary addressed to Lothar I (no. 39, pp. 476–78); epistles written to Hatto of Fulda and Otgar of Mainz mention Hrabanus’s tract on incest, divination, and the magical arts (nos. 31–32, pp. 455–65); dedicatory epistle for the Canticles exposition written for Louis the German (no. 33, pp. 465–67); dedicatory epistle for the Maccabees commentary addressed to Louis the German (no. 35, pp. 469–70).

155. Epistle 34 (*Epistolae*, p. 469): “ut eorum meditatione sedulo incumbens eius

stadium imiteris, qui sic implevit negotium mundanum, quod nequaquam aliquod omitteret ad officium pertinens divinum appellerisque rite simul cum propheta angelico affatu ‘vir desideriorum’, non utique carnalium, sed spiritalium, non terrenorum, sed caesium; alioquin viri vocabulum non rite teneres, si mollitiem voluptatum huius saeculi sequereris, et non magis desiderium regni caelestis.”

156. For the text of *De rerum naturis* (later known as *De universo*), see PL III, cols. 9–614. Migne relied on the flawed, seventeenth-century edition of Georg Colvener. William Schipper has traced the manuscript history of the *De rerum naturis*. See his “Rabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis*: A Provisional Check List of the Manuscripts,” *Manuscripta* 33 (1989): 109–18. There are over thirty extant manuscript copies of *De rerum naturis*, ranging in date from the ninth through the sixteenth century (plus a number of fragments). Elisabeth Heyse has analyzed Hrabanus’s sources for the *De rerum naturis* in light of reconstruction of the ninth-century Fulda *scriptorium*. See her *Hrabanus Maurus’ Enzyklopädie “De rerum naturis”: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen und zur Methode der Kompilation* (Munich: Ardeo-Gesellschaft, 1969). Heyse (p. 2) notes that the earliest extant manuscript is the mid-ninth-century Vienna Codex 121 (Cod. Vindob. 121; Philol.113), containing books 12–22. Hrabanus’s major sources for *De rerum naturis* include Isidore, Alcuin, Bede, Gregory the Great, Jerome, Cassiodorus, Ambrose, Augustine, Pliny the Elder, and Origen. Heyse (pp. 156–61) provides a handy list of Hrabanus’s sources.

157. For Baturich, see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 51.

158. “Nuper quando ad vos in cellula monasterii nostri, quae vocatur Ratestorph, vocatus veni.” See Hrabanus, *Epistolae*, no. 33 (p. 465).

159. Hrabanus writes of his meeting with Louis at Rasdorf, “vocatus veni” (“summoned, I came); the bride from the Song of Songs (2.8) comes when she hears the voice of her lover (“Vox dilecti mei; ecce iste venit”).

160. De Jong, “Old Law and New-Found Power,” p. 168. See also Bernhard Bischoff, “Bücher am Hofe Ludwigs des Deutschen,” in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 3:187–88.

161. See Mayke de Jong, “Exegesis for an Empress,” pp. 69–100; Elizabeth Ward, “Caesar’s Wife: The Career of the Empress Judith,” in Peter Godman and Roger Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne’s Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814–840)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 224, and Elizabeth Sears, “Louis the Pious as *Miles Christi*: The Dedicatory Image in Hrabanus Maurus’ *De laudibus sanctae crucis*,” in Godman and Collins (eds.), *Charlemagne’s Heir*, pp. 620–21.

162. De Jong, “Old Law and New-Found Power,” p. 171.

163. Hrabanus, *Epistolae*, no. 15 (pp. 403–15).

164. Ibid., Epistle 17 (pp. 420–22). On the scandals surrounding Judith, see de Jong, *Penitential State*, pp. 188–213.

165. Le Maître, “Les méthodes exégétiques de Raban Maur,” p. 343.

166. For the political context of Hrabanus’s elevation to the see of Mainz, see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 159–65; consult also Boris Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche und die Reichskirche im Ostfränkischen Reich (826–876)* (Husum: Matthiesen, 2002), pp. 104–23.

167. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 160.

168. *Carmina*, no. 97 (p. 244): “Urbe quidem hac genitus sum ac sacro fonte renatus”; discussed in de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image*, p. 75.

169. *Ibid.*, no. 81 (pp. 234–35): “Asia magnificat Iacobum, Ausonia quoque Petrum, Iohannemque Ephesus, Africa Cyprianum:/Non minus exaltans celebrat Germania laudes/Et Bonifacii opus martyris almificum.”

170. Epistle 13 (*Epistolae*, p. 400).

171. Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 21–23, documents the early economic and political relationship between Fulda and Mainz.

172. Epistles 20–21 (wisdom literature; *Epistolae*, pp. 425–28); Epistle 32 (penitential; *Epistolae*, pp. 462–65). Hrabanus’s hagiographer, Rudolf, also mentions these tracts dedicated to Otgar of Mainz: “Librum quoque qui nuncupatur Sapientiae hortatu Otgarii archiepiscopi in tribus libellis, prout potuit, enodavit. Et librum Iesu filii Sirach qui appellatur Ecclesiasticus 10 libris similiter elucidavit” (*Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum* 15, p. 340); “Scripsit quoque libellum 1 ad Otgarium archiepiscopum, in quo primum de poenitentia legitima et spe indulgentiae, deinde diversa capitula de canonibus diversorum conciliorum subiunxit ad corrigenda hominum vitia et instituta religionis christianae roboranda” (p. 341).

173. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 158–59; Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 95–104.

174. *Carmina*, no. 87 (pp. 238–39): “Qui intrasti templum pronusque hanc sistis ad aram,/Non spernas, lector, hunc titulum legere.”

175. For the Mainz councils in context, see Bigott, *Ludwig der Deutsche*, pp. 104–11; and Wilfried Hartmann, “Die Mainzer Synoden des Hrabanus Maurus,” in Kottje and Zimmermann (eds.), *Hrabanus Maurus*, pp. 130–44.

176. For Hrabanus’s synods, MGH Conc. 3, pp. 150–77 (Mainz 847), pp. 179–84 (Mainz 848), and pp. 235–52 (Mainz 852). These synods are discussed in Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 160–64, 175–76, 207–8, 211.

177. Discussed by Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, *Forgetful of Their Sex: Female Sanctity and Society, ca. 500–1100* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 116–17. Primary sources for the Theoda incident include the *Annales* of Fulda (entry for 847), MGH SS 1, p. 365; and the Council of Mainz (847) in MGH Conc. 3, p. 151.

178. Mayke de Jong provides an overview of the Gottschalk controversy (*In Samuel’s Image*, pp. 77–92).

179. Epistle 42 (*Epistolae*, p. 481): “quendam sciolum.” I wish to thank Francis X. Gumerlock for pointing out this passage.

180. MGH Conc. 3, pp. 194–99; see also de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image*, pp. 86–89.

181. See Epistles 53–56 (*Epistolae*, pp. 507–14).

182. Epistle 56 (*Epistolae*, pp. 510–14).

183. Epistle 57 (*Epistolae*, p. 515): “Quod ideo feci, quia necessarium fore id aestimavi propter frequentissimas barbarorum incursiones.” Janet L. Nelson discusses Hrabanus’s treatise on the martial arts: “Ninth-Century Knighthood: The Evidence of Nithard,” in

Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher J. Holdsworth, and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown* (Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1989), pp. 255–66, here p. 255; see also Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 40–41.

184. Migne did not include the *Coena* in his collection of the abbot's works. There are, however, a number of extant manuscripts of the work. For a discussion of Hrabanus's abridged version of the *Coena* and its royal audience, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968), pp. 76, 286–89. See also Ziolkowski, *Talking Animals*, pp. 57–59. For an overview of the *Coena*, see Francesco Mosetti Casaretto, "Contaminazioni escatologiche di cornice per un modulo letterario: Dalla metafora al testo, dal 'banchetto' alla 'Cena di Cipriano,'" *Studi Medievali* 43 (2002): 535–623.

185. Epistle 52 (*Epistolae*, p. 506): "ad iocunditatem et utilia propter multarum memoriam rerum."

186. Ibid.: "Hec vero vestre serenitati relegenti sive audienti."

187. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, p. 76.

188. Epistle 52 (*Epistolae*, p. 506): "Quoniam, sicut presens aecclesia malorum et bonorum in se congeriem retinet, ita et hec scedula utrorumque ordines in se continet."

189. Epistle 28 (*Epistolae*, p. 444): "qui gravi egritudine pressus iam saepius in lectulo accumbo, quam ad scribendum vel ad legendum in meditatorio sedeo."

190. Epistles 49–51 (*Epistolae*, pp. 503–6).

191. Epistle 50 (*Epistolae*, p. 505): "Omnia fert aetas, animum quoque."

192. For Albrecht of Brandenburg, see William Monter, *Ritual, Myth and Magic in Early Modern Europe* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1983), p. 15.

193. For the Bollandist study of Hrabanus, see AASS I (February), cols. 500–512.

194. For Hrabanus's funerary poetry, see *Carmina* no. 84–97 (pp. 237–44). *Carmen* no. 97 is on pp. 243–44.

195. For Alcuin's funerary *titulus*, see his *Carmen* no. 123 (pp. 350–51).

196. *Carmen* no. 97, line 17: "Nunc rogo te ex tumulo, frater dilecte, iuvando."

197. Echoing the *epitaphium* of Alcuin (p. 351): "Alchuine nomen erat sophiam mihi semper amanti." Hrabanus's use of his name, "raven," could be a figurative reference to the fact that his spirit was blackened with sin. I wish to thank Eric Goldberg for this point.

198. *Carmen* no. 97, lines 23–24: "Cui deus omnipotens tribuas caelestia regna,/Et veram requiem semper in arce poli."

CHAPTER 2

1. A portion of this chapter was published as "Collecting the Desert in the Carolingian West," *Church History and Religious Culture* 86 (2006): 135–62. Brill publishers kindly gave me permission to reproduce it here. I would like to thank Drs. Mathilde van Dijk and Jitse H. F. Dijkstra for their kind invitation to present my work on Carolingian practices of collecting in a colloquium held at the University of Groningen in March

2005: “The Encroaching Desert: Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West.” On the culture and aesthetics of Carolingian *spolia*, see Werner Jacobsen, “Spolien in der karolingischen Architektur,” in Joachim Poeschke (ed.), *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Munich: Hirmer, 1996), pp. 155–68; and Beat Brenk, “Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 103–9. The Carolingian collecting of exotic alphabets (including Walafrid Strabo’s multilingual collecting) is discussed by Bernhard Bischoff, “The Study of Foreign Languages in the Middle Ages,” in his *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2:227–45. Dutton (“Charlemagne, King of Beasts,” chap. 2 of his *Charlemagne’s Mustache*, pp. 43–68) tackles exotic animals as objects to be collected for the greater purpose of articulating imperial power. Rosamond McKitterick discusses the classical *spolia* at Aachen; see her *Charlemagne*, pp. 162–63.

2. For the elephant, see Dutton, *Charlemagne’s Mustache*, pp. 59–61; for the “clod” of Mount Sinai, see Hrabanus Maurus, *Tituli ecclesiae Fuldensis*, Ernst Dümmler (ed.), MGH Poetae 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), p. 209: “Pars montis Sinai, Moysi et memoratio digna.” The Fulda monks installed the chunk of Mount Sinai in the Michael Rotunda, which Eigil and Hrabanus had constructed adjacent to the Salvator (ca. 820–22); for Aachen as “collecting and displaying” the measurements of heavenly Jerusalem, see Roger Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 71.

3. McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, p. 371, discusses how the Carolingian Empire “reached towards the heavenly Jerusalem.”

4. McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 112–13; see also Jacobsen, “Spolien in der karolingischen Architektur,” p. 156.

5. McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 113.

6. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), p. 153.

7. For the late ancient aesthetic of bricolage, see Jaś Elsner, “From the Culture of *Spolia* to the Cult of Relics: The Art of Constantine and the Genesis of Late Antique Forms,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 68 (2000): 149–84. This chapter is indebted to Elsner’s work on fourth-century spoliation and bricolage. For related arguments on the political uses of spoliation in late ancient and medieval art, see Philip Peirce, “The Arch of Constantine: Propaganda and Ideology in Late Roman Art,” *Art History* 12, no. 4 (1989): 387–418; and Karen Rose Mathews, “Expressing Political Legitimacy and Cultural Identity Through the Use of *Spolia* on the *Ambo* of Henry II,” *Medieval Encounters* 5, no. 2 (1999): 156–83.

8. Various dates have been suggested for the Lorsch gatehouse. Charles McClendon (*Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 102) privileges a dating range of 784 to 794. Josef Fleckenstein proposes a date after 800 because he reads the gatehouse as an imperial marker in tandem with Charlemagne’s coronation in Rome as Augustus. See his “Erinnerung an Karl den Grossen: Zur Torhalle von Lorsch und zum Kaisertum Karls,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Klosters Lorsch* (Lorsch: Heimat- und Kulturverein Lorsch, 1980), pp. 63–77. Werner Jacobsen prefers a date of ca. 880; see his “Die Lorsch Torhalle: Zum Problem ihrer Datierung und Deutung,” *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte*

1 (1985): 29, 36–37. For Jacobsen, the *Torhalle* dates to the period right after the death of Louis the German (ca. 876). Louis's son, Louis the Younger, may have built the "triumphal arch" to frame the funerary procession of his father, who was buried at Lorsch. Jacobsen bases his theory on meticulous formal stylistic analysis of Carolingian columns and composite capitals. For a discussion of the gate hall's relationship to Louis the German and Louis the Younger, see Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 191–93. For an in-depth stylistic analysis of the gatehouse, see McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 92–104. For the trompe l'oeil effect of the *Torhalle*, see Jean-Pierre Caillet, *L'art carolingien* (Paris: Flammarion, 2005), pp. 116–18.

9. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 193.

10. Sexton, "Justice Seen," pp. 318–19.

11. Ibid.

12. On the earliest surviving written records for the monument, see Jacobsen, "Die Lorsch Torhalle," pp. 10–11.

13. Noted by Krautheimer, "Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," p. 233.

14. Richard Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33, here p. 13. On Krautheimer's contribution to the field of medieval architectural iconography, see Paul Crossley, "Medieval Architecture and Meaning: The Limits of Iconography," *Burlington Magazine* 130, no. 1019 (1988): 116–21.

15. See McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 92–94.

16. On floor mosaics as wall coverings in early Christian basilicas, see Thomas F. Mathews, *The Clash of the Gods: A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), p. 95.

17. Sexton, "Justice Seen," p. 323. Martin Claussen discusses how Frankish reformers used the past in the service of creating a novel present in his introduction to *Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 1–7.

18. David Ganz, "Book Production in the Carolingian Empire and the Spread of Caroline Miniscule," in McKitterick, *New Cambridge Medieval History*, 2:791.

19. For the origins of scholarly work on Carolingian reform councils, see Susan A. Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier: The Symbolic Vision of Angilbert* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 4–7.

20. For Benedict's collecting of texts and their incorporation into the morning assembly, see Ardo, *Vita Benedicti abbatis Anianensis et Indensis* 38, Georg Waitz (ed.), MGH SS 15/1 (Hanover: Hahn, 1887), pp. 200–220, here p. 217: "Fecit denique librum ex regulis diversorum patrum collectum, ita ut prior beati Benedicti regula cunctis esset, quem omni tempore ad collectam matutino legere iussit." For an English translation of Benedict's *Vita*, see Ardo, "The Life of Saint Benedict, Abbot of Aniane and of Inde," trans. Allen Cabaniss, in Thomas F. X. Noble and Thomas Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ: Saints and Saints' Lives from Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), pp. 217–54.

21. For the text of the *Concordia* and an introduction to its manuscript history, see Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, Pierre Bonnerue (ed.), CCCM 168, 168A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999).

22. For the Carolingian program of Benedictine hegemony, see the decrees of the Aachen councils (816 and 817) and the Murbach Statutes (816) in *Legislatio Aquisgranensis*, Josef Semmler (ed.), CCM 1 (Siegburg: F. Schmitt, 1963), pp. 435–81. For an overview of Carolingian monastic reform, see de Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism”; and Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, pp. 317–27 and 366–74.

23. The comparison of the Fulda crypts with Benedict’s *Harmony of the Rules* is made by Becht-Jördens, “Text, Bild und Architektur,” p. 91. For Fulda’s building campaign under the abbots Ratgar, Eigil, and Hrabanus, see Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” pp. 93–133. Werner Jacobsen places the Fulda crypts within the larger architectural context of Frankish tombs. See his “Saints’ Tombs in Frankish Church Architecture”; and McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 160, evaluates the entire Salvator complex. All of these secondary works build on the pioneering study of the Fulda complex done by Krautheimer, “Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture,” pp. 209–12.

24. For the liturgical and material history of the veneration of Saint Boniface at Fulda (and beyond), see Kehl, *Kult und Nachleben des heiligen Bonifatius*, pp. 32–43. Rosamond McKitterick (*Charlemagne*, pp. 326–30) situates Carolingian practices of relic collecting within early medieval concepts of the past.

25. See Hrabanus Maurus, *Tituli ecclesiae Fuldensis*, pp. 205–14.

26. On the ability of medieval relics to evoke wonder and their affinities with early modern cabinets of curiosity, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York: Zone, 1998), pp. 68–74. On relics as curiosities, see Adalgisa Lugli, *Naturalia et mirabilia: Il collezionismo enciclopedico nelle Wunderkammern d’Europa* (Milan: G. Mazzotta, 1983), pp. 13–16. On early medieval relic collecting, see Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 283–318.

27. For the classic discussion of how the built environment of the cloister produces theological and contemplative spaces, see Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp. 216–17. Chapter 4 of this book features Lefebvre’s theories of cloistered space and its practices.

28. A fairly standard technique of Carolingian historical writings; see Rosamond McKitterick, *Perceptions of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).

29. For example, Hrabanus Maurus’s colleagues frequently hounded him to collect patristic lore on various aspects of the church institution. See the preface to his *De institutione clericorum*: “Sed non in hoc satis eis facere potui, qui me instantissime postulabant immo cogeabant, ut omnia haec in unum volumen congerem, ut haberent, quo aliquo modo inquisitionibus suis satisfacerent, et in uno codice simul scriptum reperirent, quod antea non simul, sed speciatim singuli, prout interrogabant, in foliis scripta habuerant” (pp. 281–82).

30. The desire for “one rule” and “one custom” is discussed in Semmler, “Benedictus II.”

31. For analyses of the limited role played by Romanization in the reforms of the Carolingian liturgy, see Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 263–76, and Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of the Liturgy in Frankish Gaul, to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, Henry Bradshaw Society Subsidia 3 (London: Boydell, 2001), pp. 81–89, 105–7, and 150–54.

32. For a revisionist view of Carolingian church reform, see Peter Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, pp. 434–61. For the relationship between reform and “renaissance,” see Giles Brown, “Carolingian Renaissance.”

33. Ritual and architectural arenas are discussed below. For chant as a vehicle of monastic unity and Romanization, see Susan Rankin, “Carolingian Music,” in McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture*, pp. 275–79.

34. See Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, p. 312 (on purifying Latin) and pp. 328–29 (on the Romanizing project of Carolingian liturgical reform).

35. On the origins of the cathedral canons and their position as objects of reform, see Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*.

36. There is an extensive secondary bibliography on the Aachen 816 and 817 synods. For overviews, see de Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism”; Semmler, “Benedictus II”; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983), pp. 112–20; and Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, pp. 366–68.

37. Aachen 816, cap. 1: “Ut abbates mox ut ad monasteria sua remeaverint regulam per singula verba discutientes pleniter legant et intellegentes domino oppitulante efficaciter cum monachis suis implere studeant” (p. 457). All references to the Aachen councils of 816–17 as well as the Murbach Statutes of 816 are taken from *Legislatio Aquisgranensis*, accompanied by parenthetical page numbers in Semmler’s CCM 1 edition.

38. *Statuta Murbacensia* 816, cap. 1: “Ut qui possent regulam memoriter discerent. Ubi iungendum putavimus, ut, cum ex corde recitanda discitur, a dictatoribus ordinatis discentibus interpretetur” (p. 441); and Aachen 816, cap. 2: “Ut monachi omnes qui possunt memoriter discant regulam” (p. 458).

39. Aachen 816, cap. 7: “Ut balneis generaliter tantum in Nativitate et in Pascha Domini veruntamen separatim utantur” (p. 459).

40. Aachen 816, cap. 25: “Ut abbas vel quispiam fratrum ad portam monasterii cum hospitibus non reficiat” (p. 464); and *Statuta Murbacensia* 816, cap. 4: “Ut abbates communes esse debeant suis monachis in manducando, in bibendo, in dormiendo seu in ceteris quibuslibet causis” (p. 443).

41. Aachen 816, cap. 10: “Ut certum fleutomiaie tempus non obseruent, sed unicuique secundum quod necessitas expostulat concedatur et specialis in cibo et potu tunc consolatio prebeatur” (pp. 459–60). Aachen 816 is the earliest documented reference to the monastic practice of routine bloodletting. See Mary Yearl, “The Time of Bloodletting” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 2005), pp. 2 (n.1) and 113–19.

42. Aachen 816, cap. 6: “Ut volatilia intus forisue nisi pro infirmitate nullo tempore

comedant” (p. 458). On monastic anxieties about eating poultry, see Josef Semmler, “Volatilia: Zu den benediktinischen Consuetudines des 9. Jahrhunderts, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 63 (1958): 163–76.

43. Aachen 816, cap. 20 (pp. 462–63).

44. Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 260 (Latin) and p. 261 (English).

45. Aachen 816, cap. 4: “Ut in quoquina, in pistrino et in ceteris artium officinis propriis operentur manibus et vestimenta sua lavent oportuno tempore” (p. 458). Chapter 4 of Aachen 816 suggests that monks were to work with their hands at various labors inside the gates of the monastery (instead of the more standard technique of securing labor from non monks).

46. Aachen 816, cap. 3, enforced instead the Benedictine Rule’s liturgical system: “Ut officium iuxta quod in regula sancti Benedicti continetur celebrent” (p. 458).

47. *Statuta Murbacensis* 816, cap. 10: “ut abbates frequenter villas non circumceant nisi causa necessitatis nec fratribus illas custodiendas committant” (p. 445). See also iAachen 816, cap. 24 (p. 464).

48. Martin Claussen, “Benedict of Aniane’s *Concordia regularum*, the Decrees of Aachen, and the Carolingian Customary” (paper presented at the 42nd International Medieval Congress, Michigan, May 2007), challenges the traditionally held view that Benedict of Aniane was a hyper-strict monastic regulator.

49. Aachen 817, cap. 10: “Ut opus balnearum in arbitrio prioris consistat” (p. 475).

50. Aachen 817, cap. 4: “Ut abbatibus liceat cellas habere in quibus monachi sint aut canonici et abbas praevideat ne minus duobus monachis ibi habitare permittat” (p. 474).

51. Aachen 817, cap. 14: “Ut laici in refectorium causa manducandi vel bibendi non ducantur” (p. 476).

52. See the legislation of Aachen 819, cap. 21: “Et ipse cum episcopis, abbatibus, canonicis, nobilibus unde ipsi reficiuntur sumat” (p. 522).

53. Aachen 817, cap. 43: “Ut volatilia in Nativitate Domini et Pascha tantum octo diebus si fuerit unde aut qui voluerit comedant” (p. 481).

54. Aachen 817, cap. 5: “Ut scola in monasterio non habeatur nisi eorum qui oblati sunt” (p. 474).

55. Aachen 817, cap. 24: “Ut dormitorium iuxta oratorium constituatur ubi supervenientes monachi dormiant” (p. 478).

56. For the relationship of “orthodoxy” and “orthopraxy,” see Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 1–2.

57. For the signature copy of the Rule, see Paul Meyvaert, “Problems Concerning the ‘Autograph’ Manuscript of Saint Benedict’s Rule,” *Revue Bénédictine* 69 (1959): 3–21; J. Neufville, “L’authenticité de L’Epistula ad regem Carolum de monasterio sancti Benedicti directa et a Paulo dictate,” *Studia Monastica* 13 (1971): 295–309.

58. Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, p. 202: “Erat itaque vilis ei et pervetusta tunica, quam nonnisi plures exactos mutabat dies. Quapropter copia pediculorum in squalenti surgebat cute, a quibus ieiuniis adtenuata depascebantur membra. Cocullae illi nimia erant vetustate consumptae”; trans., “Life of Saint Benedict,” p. 219. Pierre Bonnerue discusses

Ardo's description of Benedict's desert-style asceticism; see his comments in Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia regularum*, p. 34.

59. Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, p. 202: "Regulam quoque beati Benedicti tironibus seu infirmis positam fore contestans"; trans., "Life of Saint Benedict," p. 219.

60. Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, p. 202: "pellis ossibus inherebat hac in modum pallearia bovum rugata pendeat"; trans., "Life of Saint Benedict," pp. 219–20.

61. RB 73.8–9; Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 296 (Latin) and p. 297 (English). I wish to thank Eric Saak for this point.

62. Martin Claussen notes that the *regulae* of both Pachomius and Basil do not require of their practitioners the kinds of outlandish corporeal rituals described by Ardo (conversation at the 42nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, May 2007).

63. Ardo, *Vita Benedicti*, p. 202: "in amore prefati viri Benedicti regulae accenditur, et veluti de singulari certamine novus atleta ad campum publice pugnaturus accessit"; trans., "Life of Saint Benedict," p. 220.

64. RB 1.5; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 168 (Latin), p. 169 (English).

65. The reversal from hermit to monk also occurs in the model text for Benedict of Aniane's *vita*: Gregory the Great's hagiographical portrait of Benedict of Nursia. I would like to thank Conrad Leyser for this point. For a discussion of the tension between eremitic and cenobitic ascetic styles in both the Benedictine Rule and in Gregory's sacred biography of Benedict, see Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 101–59.

66. The structure of the *Concordia* itself, however, offers an unavoidable imbalance between Eastern and Western rules, for as Pierre Bonnerue notes, Benedict's access to Eastern texts was extremely limited. See his introduction to the text of Benedict's *Concordia*, pp. 125–26.

67. Discussed by Maria-Elisabeth Brunert, "Fulda als Kloster in eremo: Zentrale Quellen über die Gründung im Spiegel der hagiographischen Tradition," in Schimpf (ed.), *Kloster Fulda*, pp. 59–78; and by Raaijmakers, "Sacred Time, Sacred Space," pp. 73–77. The date of the *Vita Sturmi* is currently the subject of much debate among scholars, but Raaijmakers, "Sacred Time, Sacred Space," pp. 68–72, argues for its creation during the abbacy of Eigil (ca. 818–22). For the *Life*, see Eigil of Fulda, *Vita Sturmi*, Pius Engelbert (ed.), in *Die Vita Sturmi des Eigil von Fulda: Literarkritisch-historische Untersuchung und Edition*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck 29 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1968). Engelbert (pp. 5–127) provides a detailed introduction to the context and manuscript history, reviews the various theories regarding the date of the *Vita*, and proposes circa 794 to 800 as the appropriate range. For the English translation of Eigil's *Vita Sturmi*, see "The Life of Saint Sturm," trans. C. H. Talbot, in Noble and Head (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 165–87. Hrabanus Maurus in his dedicatory poem to *In honorem sanctae crucis* (CCCM 100, p. 5) refers to the heavily wooded region around Fulda as the *silva Bochoniae*.

68. Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chap. 4 (p. 134 in Engelbert ed.): "parva arborum corticibus tecta instruunt habitacula."

69. Ibid.: "praeter caelum ac terram et ingentes arbores pene nihil cernentes." For

a desert parallel, see Jerome's late fourth-century life of the hermit Malchus, where the holy man says that he is only able to see "sky and earth" (*Vita Malchi*, chap. 7; text in PL 23, cols. 59–60). As Brunert ("Fulda als Kloster *in eremo*," p. 63) notes, Jerome's depiction of the desert landscape exerts a major influence on Carolingian hagiography.

70. Eigil, *Vita Sturm*, chap. 13 (p. 145): "ut apud illos nulla potio fortis qua inebriari possit, sed tenuis cerevisia biberetur." Boniface himself had advised the Sturm group that alcohol was incompatible with desert rigor. This rejection of intoxicants occurs when the Sturm group builds its first hermitage at the future site of the Fulda abbey. Eigil adds here that a church synod convened during the reign of Louis the Pious relaxed this stricture and only a few monks of his day refused alcohol.

71. Eigil, *Vita Sturm*, chap. 4 (p. 133): "ut arctiori se vita et eremi squalore constringeret." The use of *squalor* here, as Brunert ("Fulda als Kloster *in eremo*," p. 67) points out, stems from Cassian's portrait of the desert in his *Conferences*.

72. Eigil, *Vita Sturm*, chap. 7 (p. 139): "ibi magnam Sclavorum multitudinem reperit, eiusdem fluminis alveo gratia lavandis corporibus se immersisse." Engelbert (pp. 82–83) rejects the arguments of past scholars, who had maintained that Sturm happened upon a group transport of slaves from the East. He proposes instead that these bathers were indeed Slavs, who had settled in Thuringia and Francia during the eighth century and had continued to live in autonomous enclaves.

73. Numbers 22.22–35. For the Balaam topos in Carolingian hagiography and exegesis, see Coon, "Historical Fact and Exegetical Fiction."

74. For example, Jerome's *Vita Malchi*, chap. 4 (PL 23, cols. 57–58) employs this image. The *Life of Malchus* was a standard text in the Benedictine inventory of saints' lives.

75. Numbers 23.28.

76. Noted by Jacobsen, "Die Abteikirche in Fulda von Sturm bis Eigil," pp. 105–7: "an der Grenze zu slawischem Siedlungsgebiet gelegen, also an der Peripherie der damaligen abendländischen Zivilisation."

77. Eigil, *Vita Sturm*, chap. 5 (p. 135).

78. Sturm's mentor Boniface also characterizes the region around Fulda as a *locus silvaticus in heremo vastissimae solitudinis* ("a heavily wooded place in a wasteland of the vastest solitude"); see Boniface, *Epistolae*, Michael Tangl (ed.), *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, MGH Epp. Sel. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1916), no. 86, p. 193. For Eigil's desert vocabulary, see Johannes Fried, "Fulda in der Bildungs- und Geistesgeschichte des früheren Mittelalters," in Schrimpf (ed.), *Kloster Fulda*, pp. 3–38, here pp. 6–7.

79. The environment of the Fulda cloister is discussed by Raaijmakers, "Sacred Time, Sacred Space," p. 74. For the imagined landscapes of ascetic practice, see Antonio Sennis, "Narrating Places: Memory and Space in Medieval Monasteries," in Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds (eds.), *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 275–94.

80. RB 73.5 requires daily readings from the desert corpus. Eigil instituted the practice of public readings from the *Vita Sturm* on the anniversary of the founder's death.

See Brun Candidus, *VE* 22.1 (Becht-Jördens ed., p. 18). Becht-Jördens, “Text, Bild und Architektur,” p. 84, notes that Candidus’s hagiographical image of Eigil brings together the fathers of both Eastern and Western monasticism, Pachomius and Benedict.

81. For the relationship between landscape and religious collective memory, see Caruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 40–44.

82. Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chap. 13 (p. 144): “sanctum et a Deo dudum praedestinatum ingressus est locum”; for Benedictine *stabilitas*, see RB 4.78, 58.9, 58.17, 60.9, 61.5.

83. Aachen 816, cap. 1: “Ut monachi omnes qui possunt memoriter discant regulam” (p. 458).

84. Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chap. 14 (p. 145): “Porro cum fratres regulam sancti patris Benedicti inhiante observare desiderassent et ad monasticae disciplinae normam sua corpora mentesque toto annisu inclinassent.” Cf. RB prologue 1: “Obsculat, o fili, praecepta magistri, et inclina aurem cordis tui”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 156 (Latin) and p. 157 (English). RB 65.17: “ita eum oportet sollicitius observare praecepta regulae”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980* and p. 286 (Latin), p. 287 (English).

85. For a discussion of the size of the monastic community, see Schmid, “Mönchslisten und Klosterkonvent von Fulda,” pp. 612, 632.

86. Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chap. 10 (p. 142): “Cum et loci illius statum et qualitatem terrae et aquae decursum quae usque hodie monasterio sufficiunt.” Cf. RB 66.6; Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 288 (Latin), p. 289 (English). Also discussed by Raaijmakers in “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” p. 82.

87. Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chap. 7 (pp. 138–39).

88. For early desert architecture, see Walter Horn, “On the Origins of the Medieval Cloister,” *Gesta* 12 (1973): 13–52, here pp. 15–18.

89. Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chap. 21 (p. 156).

90. Sturm’s successor Baugulf began the construction of a new, three-nave basilica with a large, eastern apse in ca. 791. When Baugulf resigned as abbot in 802, his architect Ratgar took over and initiated a new, massive building campaign, sparking much conflict in the monastery. Ratgar eventually was deposed and his successor Eigil completed Ratgar’s enormous western transept and western apse and added the two crypts. For a first-rate overview of the entire Fulda building campaign (and a heavy emphasis on archaeological evidence), see McClelland, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 158–61. Werner Jacobsen details the architectural implications of the conflict under Ratgar: “Benedikt von Aniane und die Architektur unter Ludwig dem Frommen zwischen 814–830,” in Alfred A. Schmid (ed.), *Riforma religiosa e arti nell’epoca carolingia*, Atti del XXIV congresso internazionale di storia dell’arte (Bologna: CLUEB, 1983), pp. 15–22. Jacobsen believes that the monumentality associated with the building programs of Charlemagne’s reign came to an end under Louis the Pious (under the ascetic impetus of Benedict of Aniane) and that the Fulda community’s reaction to Ratgar can be explained within this larger, ascetic context. Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” p. 64, however, makes a strong case that the monks of Fulda did not object to the building program itself, but to Ratgar’s mismanagement of it.

91. Eigil, *Vita Sturm*, chap. 21 (p. 156). Werner Jacobsen traces the evolution of the Sturm basilica (ca. 744–51); see his “Abteikirche in Fulda,” pp. 105–12.

92. Richard Krautheimer analyzes the building program of the Salvator basilica from Sturm through Eigil; see his influential “The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture.” The Carolingian complex has been reconstructed largely through archaeological excavations, seventeenth-century plans (i.e., before the demolition of the medieval basilica to build its Baroque counterpart), and ninth-century descriptions (Krautheimer, “Carolingian Revival,” p. 209). Charles McClendon provides a historiographical discussion of the continued influence of Krautheimer’s theories of Carolingian architecture as well as a critique. See his “Louis the Pious, Rome, and Constantinople,” pp. 103–6. Werner Jacobsen refines Krautheimer’s original structural study; see his *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 193–99, and “Abteikirche in Fulda,” pp. 105–27. Janneke Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” pp. 93–133, interprets Fulda’s building program within the context of the collective memory of the ascetic community. Finally, Richard Krautheimer’s student Charles McClendon has refined the architectural investigation of the aesthetic, structural, and archaeological setting of Fulda in *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 158–61.

93. Jacobsen refers to Ratgar’s building program (which Eigil completed) as “der neuesten Baumode” (“Abteikirche in Fulda,” p. 118); Becht-Jördens, “Text, Bild und Architektur,” p. 75, describes Eigil’s architectural renovation as the largest and most modern north of the Alps; and Engelbert calls the Salvator project “der Meisterwerke der modernen Architektur seines Reiches” in his edition of Eigil’s *Vita Sturm*, p. 9. Ratgar is famous among architectural historians for his revolutionary architectural style.

94. Becht-Jördens, “Text, Bild und Architektur,” p. 93. For the exegetical readings of Carolingian art and architecture, see William J. Diebold, “The New Testament and the Visual Arts in the Carolingian Era, with Special Reference to the *Sapiens architectus* (I Cor. 3.10),” in Chazelle and Edwards (eds.), *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, pp. 141–53.

95. Wolfgang Braunsfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders*, trans. Alastair Laing (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), p. 11.

96. Hrabanus in his architectural *Tituli ecclesiae Fuldensis* (p. 206) informs us that Bishop Haistulf of Mainz consecrated the apse shrine to Boniface on 1 November 819: “Quod super exstructum Heistolf sacraverat.” Consecration of the basilica is also described in Brun Candidus, *VE* 15.1–4 (p. 15).

97. See Krautheimer, “Carolingian Revival,” p. 211; McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 159.

98. Noted by Jacobsen, “Abteikirche in Fulda,” p. 126, and Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” p. 121.

99. Recent archaeological data suggests that the western transept of Saint Peter’s existed before the nave; hence, the original edifice was not a transept at all, but a *martyria* to which the “basilica” was added in two phases (first three aisles and then five). See Alberto Carpicci and Richard Krautheimer, “Nuovi dati sull’Antica Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano,” *Bolletino d’arte* 93–94 (1995): 1–70, continued in vol. 95 (1996): 9–84. Carpi-

ceci and Krautheimer's evidence is summarized by Ross Holloway, *Constantine and Rome* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 79–80. Consult also Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, p. 45.

100. Krautheimer, "Carolingian Revival," p. 213. For the larger context behind the transport of relics from Rome to Francia, see Smith, "Old Saints, New Cults."

101. Krautheimer, "Carolingian Revival," pp. 209–13; consult also Crook, *Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints*, pp. 135–36; Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture*, pp. 37–45; Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 193–99; Charles McClendon, *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa: Architectural Currents of the Early Middle Ages*, Yale Publications in the History of Art 36 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 60–75; and Heitz, *L'Architecture religieuse carolingienne*, pp. 99–108.

102. Krautheimer, "Carolingian Revival," p. 212.

103. Noted by Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, p. 199. Also discussed in Raaijmakers, "Sacred Time, Sacred Space," p. 115.

104. Eigil, *Vita Sturmi* 14 (pp. 145–47).

105. See Boniface, *Epistolae*, no. 89; text in Tangl (ed.), MGH Epp. 1:203–5. Eigil, *Vita Sturmi*, chap. 17 (pp. 151–52) intimates that the bishop of Mainz, Lull, did not have direct authority over the abbey. A number of scholars have discussed this issue; see, for instance, Raaijmakers, "Sacred Time, Sacred Space," p. 3, and Karl Schmid, "Die Frage nach den Anfängen der Mönchsgemeinschaft in Fulda," in Schmid (ed.), *Klostergemeinschaft von Fulda*, 1:129.

106. Eigil's successor, Hrabanus, continued the program of relic collecting. As Raaijmakers, "Sacred Time, Sacred Space," p. 168, point out, Hrabanus brought the remains of thirty-eight martyrs (mostly Roman) to Fulda and its satellite churches between 835 and 838. See also Appleby, "Rudolph, Abbot Hrabanus and the Ark of the Covenant Reliquary."

107. Hrabanus Maurus, *Tituli ecclesiae Fuldensis*, p. 209: "Pars montis Sinai, Moysi et memoratio digna." The Fulda monks installed the chunk of Mount Sinai in the Michael Rotunda, which Eigil and Hrabanus had constructed adjacent to the Salvator (ca. 820–22).

108. Hrabanus's *tituli* name relics from the following major Roman basilicas: Peter and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, Prassede and Pudentiana, Aquila and Priscilla, Cecilia, Laurence, Sabina, and Agnes.

109. Engelbert discusses the *Vita Sturmi* as a house hagiography because Eigil addressed his narrative to a narrow, monastic circle, and its circulation, as the text's manuscript history suggests, was quite limited. See his introduction to the *Vita Sturmi*, p. 39.

110. On the eighth-century Sturm capitals as *spolia*, see Jacobsen, "Spolien in der karolingischen Architektur," pp. 160–61.

111. For the holdings of the early medieval Fulda scriptorium, see Schimpf, Leinweber, and Martin (eds.), *Mittelalterliche Bücherverzeichnisse des Klosters Fulda*.

112. For a discussion of the context behind the *Expositio* and its manuscript history, see Ludwig Traube and H. Plenkers, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, Abhandlungen

der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-philologische und historische Klasse 25/2 (Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910), pp. 40–45. See also Mary Alfred Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism as Reflected in the Warnefrid-Hildemar Commentaries on the Rule* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), pp. 23–25.

113. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 183–84 (cloister); p. 520 (soap containers).

114. De Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 70, notes that “Hildemar’s commentary has been rightly called a textbook of Carolingian monastic life.”

115. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 271.

116. Theoretically, this section owes a great deal to Certeau, *Practice of Everyday Life*, and Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

117. For discussion of ascetic traditions of silence, see Gehl, “Competens Silentium”; for Carolingian views on the “vast solitude” of the desert, see Brunert, “Fulda als Kloster in eremo,” pp. 59–78.

118. These practices were mediated to the monks of Civate largely through Cassian’s *Institutes* and *Conferences*. See John Cassian, *Institutes* [*De institutis coenobiorum*], Jean-Claude Guy (ed.), *Jean Cassian: Institutions cénobitiques*, SC 109 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965); and his *Conferences* [*Collationes patrum*], E. Pichery (ed.), *Jean Cassian: Conférences*, SC 42, 54, 64 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1954). For a discussion of Cassian’s portrait of the desert surveillance of speech, see Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 47–61. See also Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 60–115.

119. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 457: “quia silentium mortificationem significat.”

120. *Ibid.*, p. 206: “scurrilitatibus et verbis otiosis aut risum moventibus aeternam clausuram ponimus, i.e., aeternum et perpetuum murum.”

121. For a discussion of the spatial ramifications of the legacy of the eastern desert in Byzantine sacred architecture, see George Gerov, “The Narthex as Desert: The Symbolism of the Entrance Space in Orthodox Church Buildings,” in Pamela Armstrong (ed.), *Ritual and Art: Byzantine Essays for Christopher Walker* (London: Pindar, 2006), pp. 144–59.

122. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 29–30.

123. *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 184; see de Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism,” p. 639.

124. Carolingian monasteries typically did not have fireplaces in their refectories. See Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall* 1:272. Hildemar’s commentary is fairly precise about which sections of the monastery are actually heated (the warming room, Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 203). The refectory does not appear to be one of them.

125. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 435.

126. RB 42; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 242 (Latin) and p. 243 (English).

127. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 442.

128. *Ibid.*

129. James Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1998), p. 17.

130. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 409–10. Clearly there was controversy over whether or not Benedict had prohibited the flesh of fowls as well as red meat.

131. Ibid., p. 419.
132. Ibid., p. 438, provides a physiological discussion of vomiting: the liver, which typically heats up food in the belly, cannot do so when a monk eats in excess. The result is that the steam created by the excess of food courses through the body until it reaches the head, where it then causes the monk to become “aggravated” and he vomits.
133. Ibid., pp. 513–14.
134. For Hildemar’s discussion of the desert origins of his monastery’s ritual habits, see *Expositio*, pp. 280–83 (liturgy), pp. 479–80 (manual labor), pp. 513–16 (clothing), p. 473 (penance), p. 184 (ritual bowing of the body), p. 204 (ritual ablutions), and pp. 408–9 (bathing). Many of these issues were also targets of Carolingian monastic reform.
135. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 421–22, citing Cassian, *Institutes* 4.17 (text in SC 109, pp. 142–45).
136. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 422: “Unde quia inspicienda est intentio, cum manducat monachus, usquedum totum manducaverint, semper legere debent; nunc autem non solum debet esse lectio causa vitandi fabulas vel scandalum, verum etiam causa aedificationis.”
137. On forgetting pagan texts in the service of promoting Christian asceticism, see Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 88.
138. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 428: “quae docent recte et distincte obscurorum sensuum secundum accentuum sonos legere atque distinguere.”
139. RB 6.5; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 190 (Latin) and p. 191 (English); referencing Proverbs 18.21.
140. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 205.
141. Ibid., p. 530.
142. Wathen, *Silence*, p. 194.
143. Scarry, *Body in Pain*, pp. 191–98.
144. For the expansion of the Carolingian liturgy as well as the number of monk-priests, see Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, pp. 327–48, 403–6.
145. *Expositio*, p. 256.
146. Elsner, “From the Culture of *Spolia* to the Cult of Relics,” 155.

CHAPTER 3

1. RB 38.7: “sonitu cuiuscumque signi potius petatur quam voce”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 236 (Latin) and p. 237 (English). For speech and silence in the early Western monastic traditions, see the overview provided in de Vogüé and Neufville (eds.), *Règle de Saint Benoît*, SC 184, pp. 227–80; Bruce, *Silence and Sign Language*, chap. 1, “Uttering No Human Sound,” pp. 13–52; Wathen, *Silence*; and Gehl, “Competens Silentium.” Conrad Leyser has explored areas of linguistic purity, gender, and ascetic practices: see his “Masculinity in Flux: Nocturnal Emissions and the Limits of Celibacy,” in D. Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 103–20. Albrecht Diem traces Western notions of monastic chastity from its ascetic origins to its early

medieval continuities, and he does so within the contexts of sacred space, disciplinary cultures of surveillance, and sexual identities (*Das monastische Experiment*). For monastic silence and spatial practice, consult Valerie I. J. Flint, “Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe,” in Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, Medieval Cultures 23 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 149–66. For a reading of medieval orality and literacy within an anthropological perspective, see Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary on Hugh’s Didascalicon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

2. RB 6.6: “Nam loqui et docere magistrum condecet, tacere et audire discipulum convenit”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 190 (Latin) and p. 191 (English).

3. “Nisi forte prior pro aedificatione voluerit aliquid breviter dicere”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 236 (Latin) and p. 237 (English).

4. “Fratres autem non per ordinem legant aut cantent, sed qui aedificant audientes”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 238 (Latin) and p. 239 (English).

5. RB 38.10: “accipiat mixtum priusquam incipiat legere”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 236 (Latin) and p. 237 (English). Fry (*RB 1980*, p. 237, n. 38.10) suggests that this section of the Rule of Benedict—modeled as it is after the Rule of the Master (24.14)—urges monks to use wine as a mouth rinse to safeguard against the spitting out of the Eucharist.

6. RB 38.1: “nec fortuito casu qui arripuerit codicem legere ibi”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 236 (Latin) and p. 237 (English).

7. For a discussion of silence and sacred language as conduits to the divine, see Gehl, “Competens Silentium.”

8. David Fredrick, “Mapping Penetrability in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome,” in Fredrick (ed.), *Roman Gaze*, pp. 236–64, here p. 258.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

11. The Carolingians introduced the practice of placing crucifixes in monastic refectories. See Irene Kabala, “Medieval Decorated Refectories in France, Italy, and England Until 1250” (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 2001), esp. chap. 3, “Carolingian Refectories,” pp. 108–42.

12. On the classical *triclinium*, see Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 15.3.8: “Triclinium est coenaculum, a tribus lectulis discumbentium dictum. Apud veteres enim in loco, ubi convivii apparatus exponebatur, tres lectuli strati errant, in quibus discumbentes epulabantur”; Hrabanus, *De rerum naturis*, PL 111, col. 390, repeats Isidore’s definition of the *triclinium* but spiritualizes it by adding a gloss on how the three couches point to the nature of the trinity. These passages are cited by Kabala, “Medieval Decorated Refectories,” p. 16, nn. 40, 41. As Kabala notes, the Rule of the Master describes a dining area in which the monks recline on couches (*triclinia*). On the classical oratorical contribution to the Carolingian art of *lectio*, see Hildemar of Civate, *Expositio*, pp. 428–33.

13. Scarry, *Body in Pain*, p. 192, on divine (the voice) and human spheres (the body).

14. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, pp. 165–66, makes the point that both body and soul are necessary for celestial ascent.

15. Fredrick, "Mapping Penetrability," p. 258; for classical philosophical views on the intersection between body and spirit, see Dale Martin, *Corinthian Body*, pp. 3–37.

16. See Lynda Coon, "Gender and the Body," in Noble and Smith (eds.), *Cambridge History of Christianity*, 3:433–52.

17. For the work of classicists who have influenced this chapter, see Corbeill, *Nature Embodied*; Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*; Fredrick (ed.), *Roman Gaze*; Maud W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995); Erik Gunderson, *Staging Masculinity: The Rhetoric of Performance in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000); Hallet and Skinner (eds.), *Roman Sexualities*; Richlin, *Garden of Priapus*; and Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*.

18. For example, the work of Margaret S. Creighton, *Rites and Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), on the gendered hierarchies produced by all-male sailing communities in the nineteenth century. Classic works on modern masculinity include Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, 2 vols., trans. Stephan Conway (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987); and R. W. Connell, *The Men and the Boys* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

19. Ever since Dom Augustin Genestout's now infamous 1937 assertion that the Rule of Benedict of Nursia was indebted to an earlier one, the so-called Rule of the Master, and not, as had previously been maintained, the other way around. Conrad Leyser (*Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 101–17) summarizes the major controversies surrounding the Rule, including the relationship between the Rule of Benedict and the Rule of the Master. Consult as well the meticulous study of de Vogüé and Neufville (eds.), *Règle de Saint Benoît*, SC 181, pp. 173–316. Marilyn Dunn, "Mastering Benedict: Monastic Rules and Their Authors in the Early Medieval West," *English Historical Review* 105 (1990): 567–94, surveys and critiques the findings of de Vogüé. Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, pp. 71–73, also assesses the controversy that broke out in the 1930s. Essential works on the early history and spirituality of the Benedictine order include Adalbert de Vogüé, *La communauté et l'abbé dans la règle de Saint Benoît* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1951); David Knowles, *Great Historical Enterprises and Problems in Monastic History* (London: Nelson, 1963), pp. 137–95 ("The *Regula Magistri* and the Rule of St. Benedict"); Jean Leclercq, *Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. C. Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961); Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961); and Paul Meyvaert, "Towards a History of the Textual Transmission of the *Regula S. Benedicti*," *Scriptorium* 17 (1963): 83–110.

20. For Gregory's life of Benedict (Latin text with French translation), see Adalbert de Vogüé (ed.), *Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues*, SC 260 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1979), pp. 120–249. For the relationship between Gregory's *vita* of Benedict and the text of the Rule, see de Vogüé and Neufville (eds.), *Règle de Saint Benoît*, SC 181, pp. 150–57.

21. “Ecce, laudavit B. Gregorius regulam, quia illam legit, et nisi legeret, non laudaret,” *Expositio*, p. 312.

22. Eighth- and ninth-century Anglo-Saxon and Frankish views on Benedict and his Rule are summarized in de Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism,” pp. 629–34.

23. Meyvaert, “Problems Concerning the ‘Autograph’ Manuscript.”

24. Manuscript history of the Rule is detailed in de Vogüé and Neufville (eds.), *Règle de Saint Benoît*, SC 181, pp. 148–50, 319–401.

25. Fry discusses the Latinity of the Rule (*RB 1980*, pp. 96–102); and de Vogüé and Neufville analyze the text’s literary style and correspondences between its manner of expression and the formal language of papal documents (*Règle de Saint Benoît*, SC 181, pp. 67–74).

26. Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, p. 120, notes that the Rule envisions an abbot who is subordinate to the text’s magisterial voice.

27. Smith, *Europe After Rome*, p. 47, situates monastic rules within their performative contexts and underscores their oral content. On the relationship between the written text and its oral performance in early medieval monastic culture, see Grotans, *Reading in St. Gall*, chap. 1, “Medieval Reading,” pp. 15–47.

28. Discussed by Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 122–28.

29. *RB* prologue 22, 23, 24, 39.

30. For a discussion of the influence of Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy on the Rule, see Adalbert de Vogüé’s essay “The Abbot’s Collaborators,” chap. 5 of his *Communauté et l’abbé*, esp. pp. 265–70.

31. “Constituenda est ergo nobis dominici schola servitii”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p.164 (Latin) and p. 165 (English). *Schola* is also a late Latin military term referring to a corporation of the army.

32. Paul Gehl defines “orthopraxy” within the context of medieval Christian monasticism; see “Competens Silentium,” pp. 157–58. Mary Carruthers also provides an analysis of “orthopraxis”; see her *Craft of Thought*, pp. 1–3.

33. The term “Benedictine” itself is anachronistic and implies a monastic order of a much later time period.

34. Dale Martin (*Corinthian Body*, p. xiv) defines ideology as the “relation between language and social structures of power. It is the linguistic, symbolic matrix that makes sense of and supports a particular exercise of power and the power structures that exist.”

35. Catharine Edwards demonstrates that defining the elite in ancient Rome hinged on a system of “controlling insiders and excluding outsiders” (*Politics of Immorality*, p. 12).

36. Kueffler, *Manly Eunuch*, chap. 4, “‘I Am a Soldier of Christ’: Christian Masculinity and Militarism,” pp. 105–24.

37. *RB* prologue 3; prologue 40: “Domino Christo vero regi militaturus, oboedientiae fortissima atque praeclara arma sumis”; “Ergo praeparanda sunt corda nostra et corpora sanctae praeceptorum oboedientiae militanda”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, pp. 156 (Latin) and p. 157 (English); p., 164 (Latin) and p. 165 (English).

38. RB 1.5: “ad singularem pugnam eremi”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 168 (Latin) and p. 169 (English).

39. RB 1.5: “sola manu vel brachio contra vitia carnis vel cogitationum, Deo auxiliante, pugnare sufficiunt”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 168 (Latin) and p. 169 (English).

40. See Cassian, *Conferences* 18.5; text in SC 64, pp. 14–15.

41. RB 28.6: “Quod si nec isto modo sanatus fuerit, tunc iam utatur abbas ferro abscisionis, ut ait apostolus: ‘Auferte malum ex vobis’”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 224 (Latin) and p. 225 (English).

42. For the tension between *virtus* and *disciplina* in the Roman military, see Lendon, *Soldiers and Ghosts*, pp. 312–13.

43. Fry’s Appendix 1 (*RB 1980*, p. 318, n. 39) provides a detailed discussion of the Coptic origins of this term and an extended bibliography of scholarly work on its derivation. For Roman views on the effeminate East, see Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, p. 92.

44. In using *taeter* to characterize the repulsive sarabaites the author of the Rule is in line with the vocabulary of earlier ascetic texts; see de Vogüé and Neufville (eds.), *Règle de Saint Benoît*, SC 181, p. 438, n. 6. In the classical corpus of texts *taeter* means “offensive, foul, noisome, shocking, hideous, or loathsome.”

45. RB 1.6: “sed in plumbi natura molli”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 170 (Latin) and p. 171 (English).

46. Anne Carson, “Putting Her in Her Place: Woman, Dirt, and Desire,” in David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), pp. 135–69, here p. 138.

47. For a discussion of elite Roman views on actors and acting, see Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, pp. 123–34.

48. RB 1.8: “pro lege eis est desideriorum voluntas; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 170 (Latin) and p. 171 (English).

49. Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, p. 92.

50. For an examination of the figure of the gyrovague in the Rule of the Master, see Maribel Dietz, *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300–800* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), pp. 88–105.

51. For the text of the Rule of the Master, see Adalbert de Vogüé (ed.), *La Règle du Maître*, SC 105–7 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964–65); the extended discussion of the gyrovague in the Rule of the Master in SC 105, pp. 332–47. See also Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 171, n. 1.10.

52. Brown, *Rise of Western Christendom*, p. 43.

53. “Latera enim eius scalae dicimus nostrum esse corpus et animam, in qua latera diversos gradus humilitatis vel disciplinae evocatio divina ascendendo inseruit”; Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 192 (Latin) and p. 193 (English).

54. RB 1.11: “propriis voluntatibus et gulae illecebris servientes”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 170 (Latin), with my translation of the Latin into English.

55. For the gullet as a metonymy in classical Latin for the penis, see Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, p. 33.
56. “Per omnia deteriores sarabaitis”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 170 (Latin) and p. 171 (English).
57. Edwards, *Politics of Immorality*, p. 118.
58. Richlin, *Garden of Priapus*, p. 26.
59. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, p. 198.
60. John R. Clarke, “Look Who’s Laughing at Sex: Men and Women Viewers in the *Apodyterium* of the Suburban Baths at Pompei,” in Fredrick (ed.), *Roman Gaze*, pp. 149–81, here pp. 161–62.
61. Jonathan Walters, “Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought,” in Hallett and Skinner (eds.), *Roman Sexualities*, pp. 29–43.
62. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 352, explains the damage done to the body via fasting.
63. Wathen, *Silence*, p. 194.
64. One of the most provocative examples of ancient Hebrew symbolic interpretations of the mouth appears in Exodus 4.12–16, where God, the prophet Moses, and the priest Aaron function as mouths of one another.
65. There are a number of biblical passages cited in the Rule that focus on lips, tongues, and mouths: see RB prologue 17 and 26, 2.14, 6.1, 6.5, 9.1, and 38.3.
66. For the classic discussion of panopticism, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1977), pp. 195–228. Dutton (*Charlemagne’s Mustache*, pp. 130–31) discusses Carolingian views on the surveillance capacity of the Godhead.
67. RB 2.19: “Quod si ita, iustitia dictante, abbati visum fuerit, et de cuiuslibet ordine id faciet”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 174 (Latin) and p. 175 (English).
68. Martin, *Corinthian Body*, p. 178; for the urban topography of Rome as a human body, see Emily Gowers, “The Anatomy of Rome from Capitol to Cloaca,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995): 23–32.
69. “Quippe quibus nec corpora sua nec voluntates licet habere in propria voluntate”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 230 (Latin) and p. 231 (English). “Quippe qui ex illo die nec proprii corporis potestatem se habiturum scit”; text in Fry (ed.), *1980*, p. 268 (Latin) and p. 269 (English).
70. “Et ut hoc vitium peculiaris radicitus amputetur”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 262 (Latin) and p. 263 (English).
71. “Ne quis praesumat aliquid dare aut accipere sine iussione abbatis”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 230 (Latin) and p. 231 (English).
72. “Ad portam monasterii ponatur senex sapiens”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 286 (Latin) and p. 287 (English).
73. The verb *murmuro* and the nouns *murmuratio* and *murmuriosus* appear frequently in the Rule; see RB 4.39, 5.17–19, 23.1, 34.6, 35.13, 40.8–9, 41.5, and 53.18.
74. “Zelus amaritudinis malus”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 292 (Latin) and p. 293 (English).

75. “Cantare autem et legere non praesumat nisi qui potest ipsud officium implere ut aedificentur audientes”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 248 (Latin) and p. 249 (English).

76. “Atque constituimus ut nulli liceat quemquam fratrum suorum excommunicare aut caedere, nisi cui potestas ab abbate data fuerit”; Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 290 (Latin) and p. 291 (English).

77. For a discussion of beating and Paul’s body, see Glancy, “Boasting of Beatings.”

78. “Licet omni tempore vita monachi quadragesimae debet observationem habere”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 252 (Latin) and p. 253 (English).

79. “Stultus verbis non corrigitur”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 176 (Latin) and p. 177 (English).

80. For an overview of Benedictine views on chastity and bodily integrity and their relationship to those expressed in the Rule of the Master, see Diem, *Das monastische Experiment*, pp. 235–39.

81. Walters, “Invading the Roman Body,” pp. 40–42.

82. On the *virga*, see Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, pp. 14–15.

83. Flint, “Space and Discipline,” pp. 156–57, underscores the difference between the Rule of the Master and the Rule attributed to Benedict of Nursia on the subject of beating. Benedict mitigates the Master’s rather “gleeful” approach to corporeal punishment by presenting flogging as a curative process.

84. “Aut ieiuniis nimiis affligantur aut acris verberibus coerceantur, ut sanentur”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 226 (Latin) and p. 227 (English).

85. *RB* 23.5: “Sin autem improbus est, vindictae corporali subdatur”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 220 (Latin) and p. 221 (English).

86. *RB* 63.18: “Pueri parvi vel adulescentes in oratorio vel ad mensas cum disciplina ordines suos consequantur”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 280 (Latin) and p. 281 (English).

87. “Custodiam habeant et disciplinam, usque dum ad intellegibilem aetatem perveniant”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 280 (Latin) and p. 281 (English).

88. “Pueris per omnia ab omnibus disciplina conservata”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 278 (Latin) and p. 279 (English).

89. Carson, “Putting Her in Her Place,” pp. 135–69.

90. Quintilian (*Institutes* 11.3.28) theorizes that the voices of boys are weaker than those of adult males, *propter humorem* (“on account of dampness”); discussed in Anthony Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter: Political Humor in the Late Roman Republic* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 145; Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire*, p. 297. Quintilian’s instructions on the male voice appear in a variety of early medieval monastic and ecclesiastical texts.

91. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 11.2.9. Although Isidore’s *Etymologies* postdate the Rule, they do encapsulate the medical corpus of antiquity that also informed the Rule’s views on bodies and bodily weaknesses. Mayke de Jong (*In Samuel’s Image*, pp. 133–34) notes that certain Christian exegetes found the inability of small children to speak a proof of their innocence as sin enters the human through language. Others looked to childhood as the embodiment of original sin.

92. Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 72.

93. For a discussion of slander as a form of “symbolic cannibalism,” see Blake Leyerle, “Monks and Other Animals,” in Dale B. Martin and Patricia Cox Miller (eds.), *The Cultural Turn in Late Ancient Studies: Gender, Asceticism, and Historiography* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press), 2005, pp. 150–71, here p. 156.

94. See Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (1966; reprint, London: Routledge, 2002), p. 4.

95. Fredrick, “Mapping Penetrability,” p. 255.

96. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, p. 316.

97. Richlin, *Garden of Priapus*, p. 72.

98. Most famously in the Anglo-Saxon penitential of Theodore. See Theodore’s *Penitential*, 1.2.15; Latin text in Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 3:178.

99. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, p. 325.

100. RB 39.11: “Carnium vero quadrupedum omnimodo ab omnibus abstineatur comestio, praeter omnino debiles aegrotos”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 238 (Latin) and p. 239 (English). The eating of the flesh of birds is discussed in Chapter 4.

101. Leyerle, “Monks and Other Animals,” p. 156.

102. Ibid., pp. 155–56; see also Teresa M. Shaw, *The Burden of the Flesh: Fasting and Sexuality in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1998), pp. 101–5, for patristic views on the physiological and sexual side effects of flesh eating versus fasting.

103. Michael Camille, “Mouths and Meanings: Towards an Anti-Iconography of Medieval Art,” in Brendan Cassidy (ed.), *Iconography at the Crossroads* (Princeton, N.J.: Index of Christian Art, 1993), pp. 43–54, here p. 50.

104. Power as connected to partaking of the Word is discussed in Leyser, *Authority and Asceticism*, pp. 120–23, and Flint, “Space and Discipline,” p. 152.

105. Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, pp. 125–30, notes that the slang usage of *irrumo* is a sexual metaphor for the silencing of another male. The verb itself means “giving suck” or “extending the teat.”

106. See Dale Martin’s discussion of this passage in terms of its gender meanings (*Corinthian Body*, pp. 168–74).

107. Flint, “Space and Discipline,” p. 151.

108. “Ne una ovis morbida omnem gregem contagiet”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 224 (Latin) and p. 225 (English).

109. “Ita sane ut psalmum aut lectionem vel aliud quid non praesumat in oratorio imponere nisi iterum abbas iubeat”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 246 (Latin) and p. 247 (English).

110. For the origins and development of monastic concepts of the purity of the hands, see Arnold Angenendt, “Mit reinen Händen: Das Motiv der kultischen Reinheit in der abendländischen Askese,” in Georg Jenal and Stephanie Haarländer (eds.), *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kulture: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, Festschrift für Friedrich Prinz zu

seinem 65. Geburtstag (Stuttgart: Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 37, 1993), pp. 297–316.

111. “Suscepimus, Deus, misericordiam tuam in medio templi tui”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 258 (Latin) and p. 259 (English).

112. *RB* 31.10: “Omnia vasa monasterii cunctamque substantiam ac si altaris vasa sacrata conspiciat”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 228 (Latin) and p. 229 (English).

113. “Concedatur ei tamen post abbatem stare et benedicere aut missas tenere, si tamen iusserit ei abbas”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 272 (Latin) and p. 273 (English).

114. “Oratorium hoc sit quod dicitur, nec ibi quicquam aliud geratur aut condatur”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 254 (Latin) and p. 255 (English).

115. “Ergo nihil operi Dei praeponatur”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 242 (Latin) and p. 243 (English).

116. “Christo omnino nihil praeponant”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 294 (Latin) and p. 295 (English).

117. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 102, 128.

118. “Posui ori meo custodiam”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980* p. 190 (Latin) and p. 191 (English).

119. On the late Roman legal status of *honestiores* and *humiliores*, see Walters, “Invading the Roman Body,” p. 38.

120. Fredrick, “Mapping Penetrability,” p. 257.

121. For an example of reading totalizing religious structures, see Kapferer, *Celebration of Demons*; and Kapferer, “Sorcery and the Beautiful.”

CHAPTER 4

1. The opening of this chapter is greatly indebted to the work of Henri Lefebvre on the religious architecture of the Middle Ages; for Lefebvre’s analysis of the cloister, see his *Production of Space*, pp. 216–17, here p. 217. For approaches to medieval architecture using Lefebvrian analyses of space, see Hanawalt and Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*.

2. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p. 216.

3. Anselme Davril, “Fonctions des cloîtres dans les monastères au Moyen Âge,” in Peter Klein (ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang: Architektur, Funktion und Programm* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2004), pp. 22–29, here pp. 25–26, details the spatial practices of the medieval cloister: lecture, liturgical celebration, foot washing, haircutting, processions, and silence.

4. For recent studies of the cloister at Saint-Trophime, see Andreas Hartmann-Virnich, “Les galeries romanes du cloître de Saint-Trophime d’Arles: Études sur un chantier de prestige,” in Klein (ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, pp. 285–316; Peter Klein, “Topographie, fonctions et programmes iconographiques des cloîtres: La galerie attenante à l’église,” in Klein (ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, pp. 105–56. For the cloister green space and its evocation of heavenly Jerusalem and paradise, see Peter Klein, “Zur Einführung: Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang: Architektur—Funktion—Programm,” in Klein

(ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, pp. 11–21, here pp. 12–13; Paul Meyvaert, “The Medieval Monastic Garden,” in Elisabeth B. MacDougall (ed.), *Medieval Gardens*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 9 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1986), pp. 50–53; J. T. Rhodes and Clifford Davidson, “The Garden of Paradise,” in Clifford Davidson (ed.), *The Iconography of Heaven* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Press, 1994), pp. 69–109; Alfred Frazer, “Modes of European Courtyard Design Before the Medieval Cloister,” *Gesta* 12 (1973): 1–11; Walter Horn, “The Origins of the Medieval Cloister”; and Paul Meyvaert, “The Medieval Monastic Claustrium,” *Gesta* 12 (1973): 53–59.

5. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p. 225.

6. Ibid.

7. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 5–6: “Illos alloquor, qui aures cordis habent; nam aures exterioris hominis sonum audiunt, sed non discernunt, aures autem interioris hominis audiunt et discernunt”; Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 8: “Auris enim corporis hominum voces, cordis autem auris intellectum haurit sermonis.” All translations from Hildemar of Civate and Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel are my own.

8. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 42: “Ita S. Benedictus gustavit de cibo Dei, hoc est intelligentia mandatorum ejus, et quia sapuit in palato cordis sui.”

9. For example, Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 89: “Ideo non dixit *constitutio*, quia constituere attinet, sicut dixi, ad constitutionem locorum, quae magis ad exteriorem hominem attinet, eo quod ibi noster exterior homo corporaliter agit in illo, quamvis salus animae in illis possit reperiri; doctrina vero vel jussio ad cordis aures attinet, id est interioris hominis, eo quod per illum homo exterior percipit verba.” De Jong, “Carolingian Monasticism,” p. 639, analyzes Hildemar’s use of *homo exterior* and *homo interior*.

10. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 6: “Et ipse homo exterior communis est cum bestiis; homo autem interior communis est cum angelis.”

11. Ibid., p. 632: “Quia tu eras homo feralis quasi bestia et non habebas aliquod initium convertendi ad Deum, et mores tui erant incompressi, [et] propterea hanc regulam scribere studui, ut tui mores aliquo modo compressi honestatem habeant, et initium conversationis tibi significemus habere.”

12. Ibid., p. 183: “Dicunt enim multi, quia claustra monasterii centum pedes debet habere in omni parte.” For a discussion of this passage, see Werner Jacobsen, “Die Anfänge des abendländischen Kreuzgangs,” in Klein (ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, pp. 37–56, here p. 42.

13. McClellon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 152–53. Hildemar’s commentary does provide some sense of his monastery’s spatial arrangements as he mentions the specific buildings that communicate architecturally with the foursquare cloister: the refectory, the monks’ kitchen, the chapter house, the dormitory, the vestuary, and the basilica (*Expositio*, p. 397). For architectural definitions of the cloister, see Davril, “Fonctions des cloîtres,” p. 22; Jacobsen, “Die Anfänge des abendländischen Kreuzgangs,” p. 37; and Rolf Legler, “Der abendländische Klosterkreuzgang—Erfindung oder Tradition?” in Klein (ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, pp. 66–70, here p. 66.

14. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 206: “scurrilitatibus et verbis otiosis aut risum moventibus aeternam clausuram ponimus, i.e., aeternum et perpetuum murum.”

15. *Ibid.*, p. 438.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 203: “ille frater coquus cum loquitur in coquina, ita debet loqui leniter, ut etiam in claustra non sonet ejus vox.”

17. On sparking compunction in the hearts of the reader’s audience (or the inexperienced reader’s ability to compel grief and mourning), see Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 275: “Isti enim canunt, ut excitent ad compunctionem animos audientium, licet et quidam lectores ita miseranter pronuntient, ut quosdam ad luctum lamentationemque compellant.” For Hildemar’s discussion of the writings of grammarians and rhetoricians and their influence over the Benedictine art of reading, see pp. 428–29. On the early medieval monastic *lectio* as a performance with roots in classical oratory, see Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 26–33.

18. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 421–34 (exegesis of RB 38). For the maintenance of a manly voice and demeanor, see pp. 429–30. In his discussion of the monastic voice, Hildemar reproduces Isidore’s analysis of the vocal qualities of a lector in *De ecclesiasticis officiis* 2.2; Isidore himself is borrowing from Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 1.8.2: “Porro vox lectoris simplex erit et clara ad omne pronuntiationis genus accomodata plena succo virili, agrestem et subrusticum effugiens sonum, non humilis nec adeo sublimis, non fracta vel tenera nihilque femineum sonans, neque cum motu corporis, sed tantum cum gravitatis specie” (*Expositio*, p. 430).

19. Hildemar apparently was a skilled pedagogue in all these areas; see *Expositio*, pp. 430–32, as well as Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism*, pp. 122–23.

20. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 530: “Artifex est: grammaticus, cantor.”

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 469–71.

22. See Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 42; Smaragdus, *Expositio*, pp. 252–54.

23. On the angelic associations of Carolingian chant, see Contreni, “Carolingian Renaissance,” p. 745. On silence in the cloister, see Julie Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister* (London: Continuum, 2009), pp. 81–110.

24. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 296: “Nam cum psallendo exeo, non loquor, sed silentium exhibeo, quia laudes Deo refero; sic enim dicitur: *Factum est silentium in coelo*; et magis reverentiam Deo exhibeo.”

25. For a discussion of the “theological body” in the writings of Carolingian monastic mandarins, see David Appleby, “Beautiful on the Cross, Beautiful in His Torments: The Place of the Body in the Thought of Paschasius Radbertus,” *Traditio* 60 (2005): 1–46.

26. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 96: “illae delectant in lupanari cum scortis ludere.” Here, Smaragdus provides a gloss on RB 4.12: “Do not pamper yourself.” Smaragdus’s use of the feminine *illae* and *hae* in these passages stem from the subject of carnal versus spiritual delights (*deliciae*).

27. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 96: “hae ad amplexus Christi venire festinant, ut cum illo quasi sponsa cum sponso in aeternum quiescant.”

28. The mystical tradition of a votary penetrating the inner spaces of Christ’s body

was well established by the ninth century and finds much of its roots in Origenist readings of Scripture. For example, see the poem composed by Pope Damasus in the fourth century, "In Beatum Paulum Apostolum," lines 13–14: "conscendit raptus martyr penetralia Christi,/tertia lux caeli tenuit paradisi euntem;" (The martyr Paul, enraptured, climbed up into the innards of Christ/the light of the third heaven, that is Paradise, touched him upon his arrival). See Damasus, *Epigrams*, Antonio Ferrúa (ed.), *Epigrammata Damasiana recensuit et adnotavit Antonius Ferrua*. Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane 2 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archaeologia Cristiana, 1942), p. 83.

29. For the practice of monastic discipline within an Anglo-Saxon context, see Aelfric Bata, *Colloquies*, Scott Gwara (ed.) and David W. Porter (trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: The Colloquies of Aelfric Bata* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997).

30. Smaragdus refers twice to the Aachen synods (ca. 816/817). See his *Expositio*, pp. 203–4: "placuit tamen sinodo in Francorum regno congregatae"; and p. 283: "Sed modo ab episcoporum, abbatum et ceterorum Francorum magno concilio salubre inventum est consilium." Thus, historians have dated his commentary as having been authored no earlier than 816. For Smaragdus within the context of monastic reform, see M. D. Ponsesse, "Smaragdus of St. Mihiel and the Carolingian Monastic Reform," *Revue Bénédictine* 116, no. 2 (2006): 367–92. For overviews of Smaragdus's life and works, see Jasmijn Boven-deert, "Royal or Monastic Identity? Smaragdus' *Via regia* and *Diadema monachorum* Reconsidered," in Corradini et al. (eds.), *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 239–51; Alain Dubreucq, "Smaragde de Saint-Mihiel et son temps: Enseignement et bibliothèques à l'époque carolingienne," *Mélanges de la Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne* 7 (1986): 7–36; Fidel Rädle, *Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Mihiel*, Medium Aevum Philologische Studien 29 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1974), pp. 11–21; Otto Eberhardt, *Via Regia: Die Fürstenspiegel Smaragds von St. Mihiel und seine Literarische Gattung*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 28 (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1977), pp. 30–78; Terrence G. Kardong, "The Earliest Commentator on RB: Smaragdus on Benedict's Prologue," *American Benedictine Review* 55 (2004): 171–93; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo: An Aspect of Twelfth-Century Spirituality*, Harvard Theological Studies 21 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 201–3; Jean Leclercq, "Smaragdus," in Paul E. Szarmach (ed.), *An Introduction to the Medieval Mystics of Europe* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1984), pp. 37–51; Leclercq, *Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, pp. 44–46; David Barry, "Smaragdus of St. Mihiel and His Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict," *Tjurunga: An Australasian Benedictine Review* 36 (1989): 3–9. See also Spannagel and Engelbert's introduction to their edition of Smaragdus's *Expositio*, CCM 8, pp. xxii–xxxiv; and B. Löfstadt, L. Holtz, and A. Kibre's introduction to their edition of Smaragdus's commentary on Donatus, *Liber in partibus Donati*, CCCM 68 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), pp. vii–xiii.

31. For patristic musings on similar allegorical topics (complete with gendered and queer subtexts), see Moore, *God's Beauty Parlor*.

32. Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel is not to be confused with another well-known Smaragdus, Ardo, the hagiographer of Benedict of Aniane. For Smaragdus's origins, see Rädle,

Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Mihiel, pp. 15–19, which refutes earlier views that Smaragdus was Irish or at least spent time in an insular monastery, preferring instead to locate his origins in the Visigothic/Frankish borderlands in the southern region of modern-day France. The evidence is nicely summarized in Löfstedt, Holtz, and Kibre's introduction to Smaragdus, *Liber in partibus Donati*, CCCM 68, pp. ix–xi. Key data includes the grammarian's personal relationships with fellow "southerners" Benedict of Aniane and Theodulf of Orléans, his use of sources from Visigothic Spain, his familiarity with Visigothic names, and correspondences between the style and vocabulary of his poetry and that of key Visigothic writers.

33. For the *Diadema monachorum*, see PL 102, cols. 593–690. For Smaragdus's poetry, see *Carmina*, Ernst Dümmler (ed.), MGH Poetae 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 605–19. For Smaragdus's works, their dates, and their manuscript traditions, see Dubreucq, "Smaragde de Saint-Mihiel," pp. 13–16.

34. For the text of the *Via regia*, see PL 102, cols. 933–70. Smaragdus's *Via regia grademur* is detailed in Eberhardt, *Via Regia*, and Rädle, *Studien zu Smaragd von Saint-Mihiel*, pp. 62–67. See also J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, "The *Via Regia* of the Carolingian Age," in Beryl Smalley (ed.), *Trends in Medieval Political Thought* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1965), pp. 22–41.

35. For Smaragdus within the larger context of Carolingian grammar, see Law, *Grammar and Grammarians*, pp. 140–43, 184–85.

36. B. Löfstedt, L. Holtz, and A. Kibre (in Smaragdus, *Liber in partibus Donati*, pp. l–lviii) discuss Christian within the contexts of theology, exegesis, the liturgy, and monastic practice; Spannagel and Engelbert analyze the work of Smaragdus as a grammarian in their introduction to Smaragdus's *Expositio*, p. xxv. For Smaragdus as grammarian, see also Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, p. 44; and his "Smaragde et la grammaire chrétienne," *Revue du moyen âge* 4 (1948): 15–22; as well as Vivien Law, "Study of Grammar," in McKitterick (ed.), *Carolingian Culture*, pp. 100–103.

37. Smaragdus may be providing the reasons for his own community's move when glossing RB 35.4's treatment of the size of monastic communities and their dependence on "local conditions." See his *Expositio*, p. 246; discussed by Spannagel and Engelbert at p. xxx. The chronicle of Saint Michael recounts Smaragdus's relocation of his monastery; see *Chronicon S. Michaelis in pago Viridunensi* 6; text in Georg Pertz (ed.), MGH SS 4 (Hanover: Hahn, 1841), p. 81. The chronicle makes clear what Smaragdus's *Expositio* only hints at: better access to the water was a prime motivator.

38. For a discussion of the context behind the *Expositio* and its manuscript history, see Traube and Plenkers, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, pp. 40–45. For Hildemar's life and works, see Mayke de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 70–73; and her "Growing Up in a Carolingian Monastery: Magister Hildemar and His Oblates," *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983): 99–128. For an earlier discussion of Hildemar and his commentary, see Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism*, pp. 23–25.

39. For the context of Hildemar's monastery at Corbie, see David Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1990).

40. For Hildemar's mention of Saint Gall, see *Expositio*, p. 522; for references to his home monastery in Francia or Frankish monastic customs, see *Expositio*, pp. 369, 462, 572, 582, 611; noted also in Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism*, p. 24, nn. 42–43.

41. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 501 (for Hildemar's citation of Theodulf of Orléans).

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 433–34.

43. Ganz, *Corbie in the Carolingian Renaissance*, p. 70, characterizes Hildemar's *Expositio* as an attempt "to understand the *Rule* through a network of etymological exegesis."

44. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 149–50 (Hildemar's instruction on the intestines comes from Isidore, *Etymologies*, 11.1.129–31).

45. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 272–74.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 362–63.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 388: "Quare non graphium vel tabulas debet proprium habere"; for the controversy over the position of the abbot's table, see p. 522.

49. For bloodletting, see Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 203, 377, 463.

50. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 155–60.

51. The earliest manuscripts of Smaragdus's *Expositio* and that of Hildemar date from the ninth century; for the manuscript history of Smaragdus's *Expositio*, see Spannagel and Engelbert's edition, pp. xxxv–lxxxiv. The most complete early version of Hildemar's commentary is from the eleventh century (see de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 70, n. 57) and includes the reference to the text being handed down by Hildemar's students.

52. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 4, notes that certain *libri* of the *Rule* open with *Ausculata* and others *Obsculata* (a variant spelling of the classicizing *ausculata*). He uses this textual variance as a pedagogical platform to delve into the etymology of *ausculata*. For Smaragdus on *Obsculata*, see *Expositio*, p. 7.

53. See Spannagel and Engelbert's introduction to Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. xxxi: "er erklärt den Regeltext in der gleichen Weise, wie man die Worte der Hl. Schrift zu verstehen und zu betrachten versuchte, und in der gleichen Absicht."

54. Ponesse, "Smaragdus of St. Mihiel and the Carolingian Monastic Reform," discusses Smaragdus's use of the *Concordia* of Benedict of Aniane.

55. See K. Hallinger, "Das Kommentarfragment zu Regula Benedicti IV aus der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Studien* 82 (1969): 211–32; cited and discussed by Spannagel and Engelbert in their introduction to Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. xxx.

56. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 505, 605–6.

57. Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo*, p. 201.

58. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 183: "Et bene dixit, claustra monasterii esse officina, quia sicut in officinis diversae artes a diversis magistris, ut diximus, aguntur, ita et in monasterio diversae operationes in singulis locis fiunt, i.e., cum alii legunt, alii cantant, alii operantur aliquid manibus, alii laborant in coquina, et caetera his similia." For Hildemar's discussion of the monastic school, see *Expositio*, p. 65.

59. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 30: "Cum tria promittunt, i.e., de stabilitate sua et conversione morum suorum et obedientia coram Deo et Sanctis ejus."

60. Ibid.

61. Smaragdus, *Carmina*, MGH Poetae 1, p. 616:

Quisquis ad aeternum mavult conscendere regnum,
Debet ad astrigerum mente subire polum;
Religione pia vitae perquirere callem,
Scandere quo valeat aurea regna celer.
Est monachis sancti Benedicti regula patris
Perfectis plana, suavis et ampla via.
Aspera sed pueris necnon tyronibus arta,
Quos aluit gremio lactea vita diu.

62. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 36: “In veteri testamento zonam pelliciam legimus circa lumbos, in novo autem zonam auream circa pectus. Ut enim adulterium non committatur, zona pellicia adhibenda est circa lumbos; ut non videatur mulier ad concupiscendum, zona aurea circa pectus.” Smaragdus returns to this same theme of the two girdles on pp. 89–90 of his *Expositio*.

63. Smaragdus divides up his *Expositio* into three books: book 1 includes the prologue plus chapters 1–3; book 2 comprises only chapters 4–7; and book 3 spans chapters 8–73. Proportionally, book 2 receives the most attention. Spannagel and Engelbert, in their introduction to the *Expositio*, p. xxxi, also note the unevenness of the structure of Smaragdus’s work, with its heavy emphasis on chapters 1–7.

64. There are a number of passages in which these sorts of gendered pairings take place. See for example, Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 96: “Faciunt enim hominem in dei servitio *mollem, tenerum et delicatum*. Et e regione spiritalis deliciae faciunt hominem pro aeterna capessenda gloria *vividum, fortem et rigidum*.”

65. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 22, p. 60, and p. 119. *Mollis et dissolutus* is a phrase used in the Bible (Proverbs 18.9), but the Latin translation of the Hebrew original (“one who is slack in his work”) intensifies the gender subtext by employing classical invective against “soft” men.

66. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 37: “Sic enim de malis Paulus apostolus ait, quia ‘Neque adulteri neque molles neque masculorum concubitores neque fures neque avari neque maledici neque ebriosi neque rapaces regnum dei possidebunt.’ Smaragdus fleshes out the Rule’s vaguer list of “blemishes” with the precision of Paul, both in the arena of sexual sin and other corporeal sins.

67. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 40, gloss on RB prologue 27, “Qui non fecit proximo suo malum.”

68. The only female figure mentioned in the Rule is the mother who offers her son at a monastery’s altar (RB 59.1–2).

69. The theory about how one cultural category is “good to think” with about an entirely different set of concerns originates in Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism*, trans. Rodney Needham (Boston: Beacon, 1963), p. 89.

70. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 168: “Vide meretricem, considera in illa fimum, sputum

et putredinem; quamvis videatur foris, i.e., pellis ejus formosa, tamen quae in illa latent, turpia et putrida sunt.”

71. Ibid., p. 73: “Coenobitae enim intelliguntur communiter viventes coenobitae enim sumpserunt initium a primitiva ecclesia Jerosolymis constituta.” For Smaragdus on the apostolic origins of cenobitism, see his *Expositio*, pp. 55–56. Hildemar and Smaragdus’s “history” of the cenobitic order is based on Cassian’s famous treatise on the same subject, *Conferences* 18.5; text in SC 64, pp. 14–16. For ascetic discourses on spiritual *tepor*, see Robert A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 165–67.

72. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 74.

73. Ibid.: “Sed sicut solet ex radice bona fructus bonus procedere, ita ex hac sancta radice bonus fructus processit.”

74. Ibid., p. 85: “Ergo sicut isti discipuli [John and Peter] non videntur invicem sibi praecellere, ita et de istis generibus potest conjicere, unum alterum non posse praecellere.”

75. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 55. Smaragdus also follows Cassian’s “history of the cenobites” as first *ordo*.

76. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, pp. 56–57: “Sicut enim in camino ignis coquendo probatur aurum, ita in monasterii claustrum et regulari disciplina tribulando bonus probatur monachus, ut sicut in diademate regis probatum fabricatur aurum, ita in diademate veri regis Christi bene probatus fabricetur monachus.” The attention here to monastic diadems is in keeping with Smaragdus’s other famous work, *Diadema monachorum*.

77. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 77, provides a lesson on the etymology of the word *acies* (“battle line”). Smaragdus (*Expositio*, p. 57) defines *acies* as “instructus ordo militum ad bellandum contra diabolum.”

78. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 77: “Ita et monachus prius discit in monasterio ingenia diaboli et pugnas illius et postmodum vadit in eremum ad singularem pugnam.” For Smaragdus’s discussion of this same material, see his *Expositio*, pp. 57–58.

79. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 78–79: “Nam sicut legitur in collationibus patrum, magna erat nimis tentatio diaboli contra monachos, et adeo magna, ut non omnes auderent dormire, sed quidam dormiebant, et quidam pro dormientibus orabant.”

80. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 79. Smaragdus (*Expositio*, p. 57) has already at this point in his commentary made clear the distinctions (and relationships) between *vitia carnis* and *vitia cogitationum* and simply lists fornication and impurity for carnal sins, adding “and the rest as were discussed above.”

81. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 74. Smaragdus concurs, *Expositio*, p. 58: “Sarabaitae autem interpretantur rennuitae.”

82. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 85: “Sciendum autem est, quia sarabaitae in *ba* dixit esse accentum, hoc est, ut sarabáytæ dicantur.”

83. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 58; see also Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 79.

84. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 58; Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 74. Cassian’s discussion of the sarabaites is in his *Conferences* 18.7; text in SC 64, pp. 18–21.

85. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 58: “Plumbum vero in igne missum mollescit et deperit; sic et monachus reprobis in regulari disciplina positus tepescit et perit.”

86. Revelation 3.16 (Vulgate): “Sed quia tepidus es, et nec frigidus, nec calidus, incipiam te evomere ex ore meo”; compare Smaragdus, *Expositio*, pp. 58–59: “Quia tepidus es, incipiam te evomere de ore meo.”

87. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 59: “Unus auri fulgore recepto cum Christo regnaturus ascendit in caelum, alter in plumbi natura mollitus cum diabolo cruciandus descendit ad tartarum.”

88. General capitulary for the *missi* (ca. 802), cap.17; text in Boretius (ed.), MGH Capit. 1, pp. 94–95.

89. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 60: “Inlecebrae dicuntur delectationes inlicitae, luxuriosae, voluptuosae sive turpissimae, in quibus mollis et dissolutus monachus frequenter involvitur.”

90. For *molliti*, see RB 1.6.

91. RB 1.11: “et propriis voluptatibus et gulae illecebris servientes”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 170 (Latin) and p. 171 (English).

92. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 83: “Voluptas pertinet ad delectationes carnales, veluti sunt somnus et cibus et caetera, illecebra vero attinet ad gulam, et ideo dicta est illecebra, eo quod illicit in aliud peccatum, verbi gratia ex gula nascitur nimia saturitas, et ex nimia saturitate aliquando fornicatio et reliqua.”

93. *Ibid.*, pp. 83–84: “Verbi gratia, sarabaitae sibi cellas aedificant, gyrovagi vero non aedificant cellas, sed discurrunt per diversa loca. Sarabaitae quamvis mali sint, tamen labore manuum suarum vivunt, gyrovagi labore aliorum.” For RB 1.11, see Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 170 (Latin) and p. 171 (English).

94. “De quorum omnium horum misserrima conversatione melius est silere quam loqui”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 170 (Latin) and p. 171 (English).

95. *Ibid.*, p. 84: “Quia eorum vitam pessimam esse cognovit, ideo tacere voluit, ne aliis in exemplum veniret.”

96. Smaragdus, *Diadema monachorum*, chap. 98; text in PL 102, col. 687 (gloss on Genesis 12, God’s instruction to Abraham to leave his native land and kin).

97. Janet L. Nelson, “Literacy in Carolingian Government,” in Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 265.

98. Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter*, p. 126.

99. Alcuin, *Disputatio de rhetorica et de virtutibus sapientissimi regis Karli et Albini magistri*; text in Wilbur Samuel Howell (ed. and trans.), *The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne: A Translation with an Introduction, the Latin Text, and Notes*, Princeton Studies in English (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1941), p. 141.

100. Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum*, pp. 311–12.

101. Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, pp. 344–45. Angenendt notes that the mass itself created the idea of the three sacred languages. Carolingian reformers, however, worked to overturn the concept that God could be approached only in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

102. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 287.

103. See de Jong, “Some Reflections on Mandarin Language.”

104. Isidore, *Etymologies*, 11.3.18: “Nonnulli sine linguis esse dicuntur, invicem sermonis utentes nutum sive motum.”

105. On the levels of monastic education in the Carolingian world, see Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 71–79; and Gehl, “Competens Silentium,” p. 139.

106. For a discussion of the classical and patristic pedagogical roots of Carolingian oratory, see Gehl, “Latin Orthopraxes.”

107. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 428: “quae docent recte et distincte obscurorum sensuum secundum accentuum sonos legere atque distinguere.”

108. On Hildemar’s theory of the monastic *lectio*, see Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, p. 197.

109. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 262–63.

110. Ibid., p. 199: “quod est membrum valde lubricum et valde mobile, et quod vix retineri potest.” For a theoretical perspective on the tongue in the early modern era, see Carla Mazzio, “Sins of the Tongue,” in David Hillman and Carla Mazzio (eds.), *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge), pp. 53–79.

111. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 205.

112. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 31.

113. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 530.

114. Ibid., p. 601: “si grammatici erant, qui discebant, unus decanus erat, i.e., prior super illos.”

115. Ibid., p. 172: “debere audire grammaticam, si vult causa Dei discere.”

116. Ibid., p. 275: “Cantor autem est vocatus, quia vocem modulator in cantu. Hujus duo genera dicuntur in arte musica, sicut ea docti homines latine dicere potuerunt, praecentor et succentor; praecentor scilicet, qui vocem praemittit in cantu, succentor autem, qui subsequenter canendo respondet. Concentor autem dicitur, qui consonat.”

117. Ibid., p. 553: “Nam disciplina potest dici de grammatica, de rhetorica, de dialectica, etc. et de ceteris aliis artibus, eo quod disciplina dicitur, quia discitur plena.”

118. Ibid., p. 430.

119. See Andrew Hughes, “Charlemagne’s Chant or the Great Vocal Shift,” *Speculum* 77, no. 4 (2002): 1069–1106.

120. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 318.

121. Ibid., p. 429: “Pronuntiatio est secundum scriptorum personas accomodata distinctione similitudo, ut puta aut senis temperamentum aut juvenis protervitas aut feminae infirmitas aut qualitas uniuscujusque personae ostendenda et mores uniuscujusque habitus exprimendi sunt.”

122. Ibid., pp. 370–71, 420; Isidore, *Etymologies* 11.2.1–8; Dutton, *Charlemagne’s Mustache*, p. 160, suggests that in practice Carolingians viewed men in their forties as in the state of *senectus* (in contrast to Isidore’s classification).

123. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 3–4. For an overview of the Song of Songs in Western monastic traditions, see E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

124. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 417–18: “Et bene dixit has duas aetates in simul, quia sicut physici dicunt, in infantibus sanguis crescit et in senibus minuitur. Et sicut in infantibus vivacitas sensus crescit propter augmentationem sanguinis, ita et in senibus, minuitur sensus propter minutionem sanguinis.” For boys as being in the “tepid” temperature register, see *Expositio*, p. 578.

125. *Ibid.*, p. 419: “Et hoc notandum est: propter naturam humanam, ne frangatur, per hebdomadam vel per mensem, prout viderit magister, debent illi infantes in pratum vel in aliquem locum ire et magister illorum cum illis, ut dimittat illos joculari usque unam horam.”

126. For Carolingian views on old age and mental and physical infirmity, see Dutton, *Charlemagne’s Mustache*, pp. 151–67.

127. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 417: “sed gradatim descendat, eo quod nocet subitanea ciborum mutatio.”

128. For medical and patristic views on meat eating and sexual incitement, see Shaw, *Burden of the Flesh*, pp. 101–5.

129. Medical evidence reviewed in Shaw, *Burden of the Flesh*, p. 37.

130. See Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, p. 81.

131. For Hildemar’s instruction on boys and meat, see *Expositio*, p. 419: “Hoc notandum est, quia juxta tempus aetatis suae debet illis tribuere carnes quadrupedum, eo quod plus indiget et opus est, cum in tertio anno est, carnes manducare, deinde in quarto minus, et in quinto plus minus; deinde usque decimum vel undecimum carnes quadrupedum minus manducare debent. In infirmitate autem vel debilitate debet illis carnes quadrupedum dare, quantum necesse est. Deinde usque ad quintum decimum annum alium cibus debet illis dare.” De Jong, “Growing Up in a Carolingian Monastery,” p. 104, discusses the diet of children in Hildemar’s commentary. For Smaragdus’s views on meat eating, see *Expositio*, p. 257. Like Hildemar, Smaragdus rejects the eating of both poultry and red meat by healthy monks. He does make exceptions for the sick, for episcopal visitations to the monastery, and for travelers. Smaragdus’s views on diet are reviewed in Ponsse, “Smaragdus of St. Mihiel and the Carolingian Monastic Reform,” pp. 388–89.

132. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 421.

133. The gloss is on RB 37, on the care an abbot ought to give to the old and the young; Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 419: “Debet etiam bona vestimenta illis dare abbas et pisces ad manducandum vel lac aut butyrum; carnes vero per tempus quadrupedum, i.e., Nativitate Domini vel in Pascha aut Pentecosten vel in sollemnitatibus sanctorum, aut prout viderit, esse infantem debilem, propter debilitatem illius frequentius illi debet dare carnes.”

134. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 414 (the prohibition on consuming the flesh of fowls): “Et ideo, cum dicit *more solito*, non tantum de quadrupedum carnibus, sed de volatiliis intelligunt eum multi dixisse, eo quod, sicut supra diximus, mos erat tunc monachis, sicut abstinebant a carnibus quadrupedum, ita etiam a carnibus volatiliis. Nam non facile inveniuntur monachi in scripturis divinis a carnibus quadrupedum abstinuisse et volatilia comedisse excepta necessitate infirmitatis, eo quod Cassiodorus dicit, dulciores carnes esse in volatilibus quam in quadrupedibus.”

135. Semmler, “Volatilia.”

136. Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* 2.27: “Avium quoque esum credo inde a patribus permissum esse, eo quod ex eodem elemento, de quo et pisces creatae sunt. Nam in regula monachorum non invenimus aliarum carnum esum eis contradictum esse, nisi quadrupedem” (p. 371). Passage cited by Semmler, “Volatilia,” p. 163.

137. Semmler, “Volatilia,” p. 166.

138. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 334: “Nunquam autem vadit infans sine custodia, i.e., sine suo magistro, aut illi, qui custodiam indigent.”

139. Ibid., p. 203: “Nam debent magistri infantum etiam ibi esse cum suis flagellis, qui teneant custodiam super illos infantes, ut ne motus vel jocos aut aliqua ibi scurrilia agant.”

140. Ibid., pp. 470–71: “Et hoc notandum est, quia non debet in oratorio infans flagellari; sed cum flagellandus erit, non in capitulo, sed in schola magistri eorum debent illos flagellare.”

141. Ibid., p. 418: “Infantes vero antequam vadant in refectorium, debent doceri sollicitè, ut cum silentio intrent et rationabiliter se inclinent adversum intrandum et ex-eundum.”

142. Ibid., p. 334: “Illis autem, quibus necessaria est custodia, nunquam audeant foris exire dormitorio, et in basilicam ire causa orandi, nisi tantum quia non possit aliter fieri, cum opus est illis ire, v.gr. ad mingendum et ad exitum. Vadit ille, cui necesse est ire, et tangit illum seniore, qui vigilat, et ille accendit lumen et vadit cum illo ad exitum, et sic lumine accenso revertitur cum illo ad lectum suum et collocat illum.”

143. Ibid., p. 334: “Et ille major, cui causa lavandi pollutionem necessitas fuerit, semper assistente et sciente seniore vadit, quia semper senior vigiliis insistit.”

144. For the stipulation that three to four masters supervise groups of ten boys, see Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 331–32, 418; for the surveillance of boys, see pp. 334–35.

145. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 350: “Si frater a quinto decimo anno adprehendit parvulum et facit cum illo infantulo fornicationem, ille infantulus virgis flagelletur et castigetur pro hoc.” This section glosses RB 25, *De gravioribus culpis*, which the Rule leaves vague, but Hildemar fleshes out in terms of same-sex rape.

146. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 350–51: “sed solummodo diu agat poenitentiam usque ad annos duos et deinde cantet missam.”

147. The purity of boys is discussed by de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, pp. 136–39.

148. For the Carolingian culture of the mass, relics, and architecture, see Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, pp. 331–44. For the percentage of priests in Carolingian monasteries such as Fulda, see de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 139.

149. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 627. Here, Hildemar notes disparities in punishment for monks raised in the monastery as opposed to monks who come to the community as adult converts. In the case of quarreling or being recalcitrant (RB 71), adult converts can be expelled from the monastery. Those reared in the cloister, however, are to be imprisoned within the walls of the monastery.

150. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 418: “Deinde cum venerint hospites sapientes in monas-

sterio, debet abbas unum vocare ex illis et probare isto modo: Vade et loquere cum hospite de cantu aut de compoto vel de grammatica seu etiam de aliqua arte rationabiliter atque honestissime.”

151. For a study of this biblical passage within the larger context of Carolingian monasticism, see de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*.

152. For fifteen as the age of marriage for males, see Janet L. Nelson, “Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity, c. 900,” in Dawn Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London: Longman, 1999), pp. 130–31.

153. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 581: “nam si XV annum habuerint et sua vita concordaverit aetati, tunc debet in choro stare et ordinem suum inter omnes habere.”

154. Ibid., p. 582: “et debet illum abbas solummodo uni specialiter fratri bonae et sanctae conversationis commendare.”

155. Ibid., p. 581: “Si autem XV annos habuerit et vitam non habuerit talem, ut possit de generali custodia exire, non debet exire.”

156. Ibid., p. 582: “si usque ad viginti vel triginta fuerit necesse sub custodia esse, sub custodia debent stare.”

157. Ibid., p. 621; passage discussed in de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p. 149.

158. Quintilian (*Institutes* 11.3.28) theorizes that the voices of boys are weaker than those of adult males, *propter umorem* (“on account of dampness”); discussed in Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter*, p. 145; Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire*, p. 297. Quintilian’s instructions on the male voice appear in a variety of early medieval monastic and ecclesiastical texts, including Hildemar’s *Expositio* (p. 430).

159. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 572–73.

160. Ibid., p. 572: “tamen in monasteriis Francorum ita flagellatur presbyter, veluti monachus.”

161. Ibid., p. 553: “non debet frater presbyter flagellari, quia canones dicunt, non presbyterum flagellari, sed per XLIV ei testes testificari, sicut dicit S. Silvester in suis decretis.”

162. Ibid., pp. 114–16 (discussion of the *improbi* and the *honestiores*).

163. Ibid., p. 231: “*Posuisti tribulationes in dorso nostro*. Vox ista martyr est, ac si diceret: posuisti flagellum super corpus nostrum. Potest etiam esse vox monachorum, cum monasticae disciplinae subjecti existunt.”

164. For the hierarchy of the body’s parts, see *ibid.*, pp. 160–62.

165. Ibid., p. 376.

166. Ibid., p. 357.

167. Ibid., p. 364: “ita et iste monachus quasi mulieri et viro conjunctus est, cum corpori monasterii se sociavit; deinde, sicut ille discedit, quia infidelis est, ita et iste monachus infidelis est, cum professionis suae transgressor existit.”

168. Martin, *Corinthian Body*, pp. 30–34; see also Gowers, “Anatomy of Rome,” pp. 23–32.

169. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 160–61.

170. Ibid., p. 547.

171. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 74.

172. While the Rule does not specify that the abbot be a priest, Hildemar insinuates that this indeed is the case; see his *Expositio*, pp. 287, 588.

173. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 86: “Et bene postquam coenobialem vitam elegit, de abbate, qui est caput, dixit, quia capite firmo et sano cetera membra vigeant.”

174. Ibid., 251.

175. Ibid., p. 522.

176. Ibid., p. 588.

177. Ibid., p. 118: “ideo est difficile, quia animas regit, corpora vero regere difficile non est”; p. 587: “ars atrium est gubernatio et doctrina animarum.” Gregory the Great famously defined the governance of souls as the “art of arts.” See *Regula pastoralis* 1.1: “Ab imperitis ergo pastorale magisterium qua temeritate suscipitur, quando *ars est artium regimen animarum*”; text in Bruno Judic, Floribert Rommel, and Charles Morel (eds.), *Règle pastorale*, SC 381 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), p. 128.

178. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 83.

179. For the *circatores*, see Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 460: “Hoc autem notandum est, quia debet ille circator, quando audierit signum, ire in ecclesiam, et cum oraverit, debet per claustram monasterii ire et, cum quem per negligentiam stare conspexerit, corrigere.” See also *Expositio*, p. 576, on the *circator*’s role in the surveillance of children. For a study of the origins and development of this office of *circator*, see Scott G. Bruce, “Lurking with Spiritual Intent: A Note on the Origin and Functions of the Monastic Roundsman (*Circator*),” *Revue Bénédictine* 109 (1999): 75–89.

180. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 336.

181. Ibid., p. 332. For sodomy in medieval ascetic circles, see Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); and Christopher A. Jones, “Monastic Identity and Sodomitic Danger in the *Occupatio* of Odo of Cluny,” *Speculum* 82, no. 1 (2007): 1–53.

182. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 215: “Intervallum singulorum lectorum singulis cubitis intercedat, ne dum ad invicem proximant corpora nutrant libidinis incentiva.”

183. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 336: “verum non debent tangere fratrem, sed solummodo axem lecti aut aliquid hujusmodi, ut excitetur.”

184. “Balnearum usus infirmis quotiens expedit offeratur—sanis autem et maxime iuvenibus tardius concedatur”; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 234 (Latin) and p. 235 (English).

185. On the culture of Roman bathing, see Clarke, “Look Who’s Laughing at Sex.”

186. Athanasius, *Life of Antony* 93.

187. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 408; for Smaragdus on bathing, see *Expositio*, p. 250, and Ponesse, “Smaragdus of St. Mihiel and the Carolingian Monastic Reform,” p. 389.

188. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 408–9.

189. Ibid., pp. 332, 408 (citing Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 19.21.33): “Si tota civitas fuerit clausa et munita, solummodo unum foramen apertum fuerit in ea, per quod

hostis intraverit, tota civitas perit, quia foramen apertum fuit, i.e., cuniculus, per quem hostis intravit.”

190. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, p. 152.

191. Fructuosus of Braga, *Regula monachorum complutensis* 16; cited by Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 224.

192. Claussen, *Reform of the Carolingian Church*, pp. 206–47, discusses the ascetic, liturgical, and communal lives of early medieval cathedral canons.

193. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 407: “Vide modo, quomodo potest manus vel pes aut oculus corpori servire, si non fuerit in corpore? et ita quomodo potest canonicus aut laicus, qui non est membrum monasterii, monacho, i.e., alieno membro servire?”

194. *Ibid.*, pp. 506–7.

195. *Ibid.*, p. 204: “Nam etiam de hac causa debet similiter locus esse praeparatus cum aqua, ut, cum necessitas fuerit propter illusiones nocturnas, lavet.”

196. *Ibid.*, p. 605.

197. *Ibid.*: “Nam in nostra provincia solarium habetur super portam et oratorium ibidem.”

198. Carolingian loggias include the one at the royal complex of Aachen, which overlooked the courtiers’ mansions. This loggia is mentioned in Notker the Stammerer’s *Gesta Karoli Magni* 1.30: “ut ipse per cancellos solarii sui cuncta posset videre”; Notker, *Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, Hans F. Haefele (ed.), MGH SS rer. Germ., N.S. 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959), p. 41. For the Aachen solarium, see Mayke de Jong, “Charlemagne’s Balcony: The *Solarium* in Ninth-Century Narratives,” in Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (eds.), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2008), pp. 277–89. For a discussion of the surveillance spaces of the Carolingian royal court, see Stuart Airlie, “The Palace of Memory: The Carolingian Court as Political Center,” in Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, and A. J. Minnis (eds.), *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 1–20, here p. 5; Dutton, *Charlemagne’s Mustache*, p. 132; and Uwe Lobbedey, “Carolingian Royal Palaces: The State of Research from an Architectural Historian’s Viewpoint,” in Catherine Cubitt (ed.), *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 129–53, here p. 135. The gatehouse at Lorsch, whose upper story can be considered a solarium, has windows on both sides (see Chapter 2). Finally, the Plan of Saint Gall (ca. 830) envisions an abbot’s house with an upper-level solarium and arcaded porches on either side of the lower level. Horn and Born (*Plan of St. Gall*, 1:294–96, 317) define an early medieval solarium as an open gallery surrounding an upper story, a window-lighted chamber on an upper story; a multiple-story building (*pars pro toto* for a palace); and the gallery or tribune in a church.

199. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 323 (gloss on RB 66.1).

200. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 506–7 (for the various kitchens in the monastic complex).

201. *Ibid.*, p. 606. For discussion of lay access to sacred shrines, see Julia M. H. Smith, “Women at the Tomb: Access to Relic Shrines in the Early Middle Ages,” in

Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (eds.), *The World of Gregory of Tours* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 163–80; Barbara Rosenwein, “Inaccessible Cloisters: Gregory of Tours and Episcopal Exemption,” in Mitchell and Wood (eds.), *World of Gregory of Tours*, pp. 181–97.

202. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 505

203. Ibid., pp. 252–53.

204. Ibid., p. 345: “qui altae et erectae cervicis fuerit” (gloss on RB 23’s list of faults, including pride).

205. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 502.

206. Ibid., p. 606; gloss on RB 66.3.

207. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 501: “Per Deum, si nunc adesset S. Benedictus, claudere illis ostium fecisset.”

208. Ibid., p. 506: “debet enim juxta coquinam monachorum coquina hospitum atque abbatis esse, i.e., ut per claustram monasterii illuc non possit quis intrare, nisi, cum necessitas fuerit, de foris intret.” For the position of the monks’ kitchen and *refectio*, see p. 397.

209. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 506–7: “Verum debet esse inter coquinam fratrum et abbatis fenestra, per quam possit cibus in refectorium inferri.”

210. Ibid., p. 507: “In ipsa autem coquina abbatis debet esse canonicus, qui praeparet cibum.”

211. Ibid., p. 379: “Si enim sicut vasa altaris sacrata debent conspici vasa coquinae, i.e., lapidea et scutellae, non ibi pulmenti aliquid mittere audebimus.”

212. Ibid., p. 507: “quia nunquam debet laicus in refectorium mitti ad manducandum vel bibendum” (echoing the language of Aachen 817, cap. 14; text in *Legislatio Aquisgranensis*, CCM 1, pp. 406–7).

213. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 406–7.

214. Ibid., p. 612: “Vasalli autem sui sint in alio loco, ubi laici sunt.”

215. Ibid., pp. 506–7, 611–12.

216. Ibid., p. 611: “eo quod laici possunt stare usque mediam noctem et loqui et jocari, et monachi non debent, sed magis silentium habere et orare.”

217. Ibid., p. 202 (the locus set apart for practical business).

218. Ibid., pp. 109, 363, 627–28; discussed by Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism*, p. 88.

219. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 358: “si talis est frater, cui non possit abbas credere, ne forte fugiat, mittatur in carcerem et in catenas et compedes vel in aliquod vinculum, ne effugiat.”

220. Ibid., p. 467: “Hoc notandum, quia si multis diebus pro gravi culpa in custodia tenetur, paucis [vero] diebus teneri debet in oratorio, et si paucis diebus tenuerit eum in custodia, i.e., extra oratorium, multis diebus debet teneri in oratorio.” Hildemar also relates a Frankish custom of placing the penitent monk in the middle of the *refectio*, so that his isolation from the corporate tables of the monks is visibly manifest (*Expositio*, p. 462).

221. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 348, 352.

222. For the tabernacle as nuptial chamber, see Douglas, *Leviticus as Literature*, p. 80.

223. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 128.

224. Ibid., p. 195: “Non enim in lectulo carnalium voluptatum dilectus Christus inuenitur.”

225. On the origins of the office of *circator*, see Bruce, “Lurking with Spiritual Intent.”

226. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 13: “Sed milites saeculi infirma et lubrica arma.”

227. Ibid., p. 14: “Milites saeculi passionibus et desideriiis tenentur obnoxii.”

228. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 409–11.

229. Ibid., p. 139.

230. See Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 102.

231. Smaragdus, *Expositio*, p. 94: “Interior homo noster exteriori et exterior interiori repugnat.”

CHAPTER 5

1. McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 184 (diagrams of extant forms from eighth- and ninth-century ecclesiastical foundations on p. 185). See also Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier*, pp. 2–3; Günter Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*, trans. Kendall Wallis (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), pp. 201–12; and Caillet, *L’art carolingien*, pp. 67–78.

2. For Roman triumphs in antiquity, see Mary Beard, *Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007).

3. Both theories are refuted by McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 191.

4. For example, the monumental entryway depicted on the Plan of Saint Gall includes altars in each of its two towers. See Chapter 6.

5. Jean-Pierre Caillet, “Atrium, péristyle et cloître: Des réalités si diverses?” in Klein (ed.), *Der mittelalterliche Kreuzgang*, pp. 57–65, here p. 61, on the use of late ancient Roman atria as funerary spaces, which is a practice carried over into the Carolingian world.

6. For an excellent study of the Corvey westwork, see McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 187–93. For the westwork within the context of the history of the abbey of Corvey, see Uwe Lobbedey, “Corvey, ancienne abbaye bénédictine,” in Uwe Lobbedey and Angelico Surchamp (eds.), *Westphalie romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire: Zodiaque, 1999), pp. 219–29. For an architectural analysis of the abbey, see Felix Kreusch, *Beobachtungen an der Westanlage der Klosterkirche zu Corvey: Ein Beitrag zur Frage ihrer Form und Zweckbestimmung* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1963). For a survey of the origins of the early medieval westwork, see Joseph Prinz, “Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des oberen Weserraumes im Mittelalter,” in *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum 800–1600* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1967), pp. 82–96.

7. Lobbedey, “Corvey, ancienne abbaye bénédictine,” p. 219.

8. McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, 191; Kreusch, *Beobachtungen*, pp. 30–31.

9. McClendon provides a detailed discussion of the Corvey westwork façade and interior spaces (*Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 187–93).

10. “Civitatem istam tu circumda D(omi)ne/et angeli tui custodiant muros eius”; translated and discussed in McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 191.

11. On the westwork’s use of spatial triads, see McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 192. Rabe (*Faith, Art, and Politics*, pp. 85–110) discusses a more famous case of mooring Trinitarian power to the spatial arrangements and liturgical practices of the Carolingian abbey of Saint-Riquier.

12. For figural repertoire of the westwork, see Caillet, *L’art carolingien*, pp. 119–20; Hilde Claussen, “Karolingische Stuckfiguren im Corveyer Westwork,” *Kunstchronik* 48 (1995): 521–34. For the allegorical meaning of Ulysses in Carolingian art and exegesis, see Hilde Claussen, “Odysseus und Herkules in der karolingischen Kunst,” in Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach (eds.), *Iconologia Sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions—und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 341–82; for ancient Near Eastern and classical iconographic precursors of the Frankish Scylla, see George M. A. Hanfmann, “The Scylla of Corvey and Her Ancestors,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 249–60.

13. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 11.3.32: “Scyllam quoque ferunt feminam capitibus succinctam caninis”; discussed in Hanfmann, “Scylla of Corvey,” p. 249.

14. *Etymologies* 11.3.30: “Sirenas tres fingunt fuisse ex parte virgines, ex parte volucres, habentes alas et ungulas: quarum una voce, altera tibiis, tertia lyra caneant. Quae inlectos navigantes sub cantu in naufragium trahebant. Secundum veritatem autem meretrices fuerunt, quae transeuntes quoniam deducebant ad egestatem, his fictae sunt inferre naufragia. Alas autem habuisse et ungulas, quia amor et volat et vulnerat. Quae inde in fluctibus conmorasse dicuntur, quia fluctus Venerem creaverunt.”

15. On the piercing of Scylla by Ulysses, see Claussen, “Odysseus,” p. 344.

16. For the musical graffiti at Corvey, see Kreusch, *Beobachtungen*, pp. 49–51, and McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 192–93.

17. Scarry, *Body in Pain*, p. 192.

18. *Etymologies* 11.3.11 (hermaphrodites); 11.3.15 (dog-headed men of India); 11.3.29 (gorgons).

19. Olfried Ellger, *Die Michaelskirche zu Fulda als Zeugnis der Totenseelsorge: Zur Konzeption einer Friedhofs und Grabkirche im karolingischen Kloster Fulda*, Veröffentlichungen des Fuldaer Geschichtsvereins 55 (Fulda: Parzeller, 1989), pp. 91–104, theorizes as to the nature of the liturgical activities held in Fulda’s round church: private masses, processions, and anniversary celebrations on the occasion of a monk’s death day. On the relationship between the Fulda round church and the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, see Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*, pp. 121–22, 126. Morris suggests that the link between Fulda and Jerusalem is based on the presence of relics from the Holy Land in the Carolingian church rather than an attempt to emulate the architectural design of Christ’s sepulchre.

20. The hagiographer specifies the name of the Fulda architect under Eigil; see Brun Candidus, *Vita Eigilis* (VE), verse *Vita* 15: “Arcubus idem Racholpho dictante magistro”; text in Becht-Jördens (ed.), p. 53. References to the prose and verse versions of the VE are cited by chapter number. Citations from the verse *Vita* are noted as such; all other references are from the prose *Vita*. The parenthetical page numbers following the chapter numbers of the VE refer to Becht-Jördens’s edition of the text. All translations from the VE are my own.

21. For the author, manuscript history, and date of composition, see Becht-Jördens’s comments in his edition of Brun Candidus, *Vita Eigilis*, pp. xi–lii.

22. VE 20.1: “Inter quos sane me ipsum, quamvis indignum et ultimum servorum Dei servum, tamen pio patris affectu in suam familiaritatem et gaudium introire concessit” (p. 17).

23. For the genre of the *opus geminatum*, see Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, pp. 271–72.

24. Candidus’s illuminated *Life of Eigil* did not survive the early modern era. For a discussion of the illuminated *Vita*, see Gereon Becht-Jördens, *Die Vita Aegil abbatis Fuldensis des Brun Candidus: Ein Opus geminum aus dem Zeitalter der anianischen Reform in biblisch-figuralem Hintergrundstil*, Fuldaer Hochschulschriften 17 (Frankfurt am Main: Josef Knecht, 1992), pp. 8–11; and Becht-Jördens, “Text, Bild, und Architektur,” p. 79.

25. VE, prologue 1.1: “‘Exerce,’ inquit, ‘temet ipsum legendo et aliquid utilitatis adde dictando. Nam dum ego ibidem, ubi nunc ipse moraris, quondam commanerem, librum prosa et versibus in laudem sanctae crucis Divina gratia inspirante incepti atque fidelibus legendum studioso labore consummavi’” (p. 3). Becht-Jördens, “Text, Bild, und Architektur,” p. 89, discusses the influence of Hrabanus’s poetic masterpiece on Candidus’s *Vita Eigilis*.

26. Becht-Jördens, *Vita Aegil abbatis Fuldensis des Brun Candidus*, p. 23, notes that the figure of Modestus stands for the entire cloister.

27. VE, prologue 1.2: “Hac igitur, frater, licentia fretus duos libros de vita Aegili abbatis nostri dictando et scribendo Dei dono peregi: Unum prosa, alterum vero versibus explicavi. Quos tamen ideo in unum corpus conligare rogabam, ut in rerum narratione alter alteri subsidia ferret” (p. 3).

28. For Candidus’s use of *unum cor, una anima*, see VE 6.2, 20.4 (pp. 8, 18).

29. VE 17.2: “ab una columna lapidea in medio posita arcubus hinc et inde in eandem compaginatam valenter exsurgit” (p. 16); the poetic *Vita* (21) concurs: “Sub tellure latet, una quae rite columna” (p. 69).

30. Jacobsen, “Spolien in der karolingischen Architektur,” pp. 160–61.

31. VE 17.1: “cum consilio et fratrum consensu ecclesiam parvam aedificavit rotundam, ubi defuncta corpora fratrum sepulturae tradita requiescunt, quam cimiterium vocant, quod Graece dicitur KOIMHΘHRION, Latine vero dormitorium interpretatur” (p. 16).

32. VE 25.2: “Postea namque accepto sarculo designavit locum sepulchri ipsius in orientali parte cimiterii et, ut valuit pro infirmitate, ipse primus terram percutiens fodit” (p. 20).

33. VE 25.8 (p. 20); verse *Vita* 24 (pp. 73–74).

34. *VE* 24 (p. 74):

Cuius epitaphium celebri cum dogmate iam tunc
Versibus expressit noster Hrabanus ovando,
Et pater et pastor, meritis et dogmate celsus

For Hrabanus's poems on his "sweet friend," see *VE*, Becht-Jördens (ed.), p. 74. Ellger (*Michaelskirche zu Fulda*, pp. 240–41) also reproduces the Eigil's epitaph complete with a German translation.

35. For a discussion of the Michael Rotunda within the larger context of the collective memory of the monks of Fulda, see Raaijmakers, "Sacred Time, Sacred Space," pp. 161–64. For architectural analyses of the Michael church, see Carol Heitz's *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne*, pp. 104–6, and *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1963), pp. 105–6; for an analysis of the architecture (and archaeological evidence) and its relationship to Carolingian views on death and the care of the dead, see Ellger, *Michaelskirche zu Fulda*. Finally, Werner Jacobsen takes a close look at the Michael Rotunda within the context of the Carolingian predilection for *spolia* and the aesthetic of remaking antiquity in Francia; see Jacobsen, "Spolien in der karolingischen Architektur," pp. 159–61.

36. Candidus's description of the interior space of the crypt is in keeping with that of the modern-day edifice. See the *VE* 17.2: "Cuius etiam aedificii structura subts terram, ubi pervium circuit antrum, ab una columna lapidea in medio posita arcubus hinc et inde in eandem compaginatis valenter exurgit" (p. 16).

37. *Ibid.*: "supra vero octonis subrigitur columnis atque in summitate operis lapide concluditur uno." For the reconstruction of the Carolingian structure, see Ellger, *Michaelskirche zu Fulda*, pp. 18–19. Ellger notes that the crypt level of the rotunda is remarkably close to Eigil's verbal description. The ambulatory level, however, was rebuilt during the early Romanesque era. The third tier, he suggests, may have been a drum-like structure encircled by windows.

38. On architectural forms emulating the ritual habits of the bodies using them, see Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, pp. 216–17. Ellger theorizes as to the liturgical uses of the Fulda round church: *Michaelskirche zu Fulda*, pp. 91–103.

39. *VE* 17.2: "supra vero octonis subrigitur columnis atque in summitate operis lapide concluditur uno" (p. 16). The verse *Vita* (21) concurs: "Incipit ac supra octonis subrecta columnis/Praepulchre in summo lapide concluditur uno" (p. 69). Ellger (*Michaelskirche zu Fulda*, p. 19) theorizes that this "one stone" is still evidenced in the vaulting of the ambulatory level.

40. Hrabanus Maurus, *Tituli*, Dümmler (ed.), MGH Poetae 2, p. 209. Ellger, *Michaelskirche zu Fulda*, pp. 82–90, surveys the evidence for the altar dedications and relic collections.

41. Heitz, *L'architecture religieuse carolingienne*, p. 104: "La nouvelle basilique venait à peine d'être terminée qu'Eigil fit édifier, en tant que *cymeterium*, une rotonde. Son inscription dédicatoire précise qu'elle fut bâtie à l'instar du Tombeau du Christ afin que

le Sauveur vienne en aide aux moines lors du Jugement dernier.” Ellger, *Michaelskirche zu Fulda*, pp. 40–51, discusses the Michael Rotunda within the context of other round, mausoleum churches of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages (including the Augusta Helena’s mausoleum, Sta Constanza, and Constantine’s Church of the Apostles at Constantinople). He, however, rejects the notion that there is symmetry between Christ’s sepulchre and the Michael Rotunda.

42. *VE* 18.1 (pp. 16–17); verse *Vita* 22 (p. 70).

43. *VE* 18.2: “Cuius dedicationis nihilominus diem, numerum, tempus et annum pariterque sanctorum nomina, quorum reliquiae ibidem conditae sunt, idem magister, qui supra, versibus et prosa eleganter expressit” (pp. 16–17). See Hrabanus, *Tituli*, Dümmler (ed.), MGH Poetae 2, p. 209. Ellger, *Michaelskirche zu Fulda*, pp. 238–39) gives the *tituli* for the relics (in Latin with a German translation).

44. *VE* 17.3: “quod tamen ipse salva fide Christi et ecclesiae puto praesignari posse figuram” (p. 16).

45. *VE* 17.7: “Circulus vero ecclesiae, qui nullo fine terminatur, interius habens compendia vitae, id est Divina sacramenta, regnum perpetuae maiestatis et spem vitae aeternae ac praemia mansura, quibus iusti merito coronantur in aevum, non incongrue significare videtur” (p. 16). See also the verse *Vita* 21: “Circulus ecclesiae, qui nullo fine rotundus” (p. 70).

46. For a discussion of the *Life* within its exegetical and architectural contexts, see Becht-Jördens, “Text, Bild und Architektur.”

47. On architectural mnemonics, see Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 16–21. Carruthers’s book revises the theories put forth in the influential book by Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966). Unlike Yates, who believed that classical mnemonics came to a halt during the so-called Dark Ages, Carruthers uncovers a lively monastic pedagogy with deep roots in Roman memory theaters. Moreover, Carruthers overturns Yates’s model of classical *memoria* as a static system designed to enforce rote memorization. For the classical background to the early medieval art of memory, see Bettina Bergmann, “The Roman House as Memory Theater: The House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii,” *Art Bulletin* 76, no. 2 (1994): 225–56; at 225. See also Yates, *Art of Memory*, pp. 1–26, for the classic discussion of Roman memory systems.

48. On the cloister as a space for memory work, see Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 272–76.

49. For a discussion of Roman *paideia* during the Second Sophistic, see Jaś Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 106–13; for Christian *paideia*, see Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 44–46.

50. *VE* 17.3: “Hoc siquidem aedificium pater iste venerandus ac supra commemoratus magister cum sociis nescio quid magni fingentes Divino magisterio docti” (p. 16). See also the verse *Vita* 21 (p. 69).

51. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, Perrin (ed.), CCCM 100, pp. 136–43.

52. *VE* 17.4: “de ecclesia Christi ex lapidibus vivis, hoc est sanctis hominibus, compaginata, quod sit habitaculum Dei” (p. 16).

53. On the Temple and monastic mnemonics, see Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, p. 230.

54. Hrabanus Maurus, *Homilia* 39; discussed by Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 275–76.

55. See Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” pp. 161–64, for a treatment of the commemorative aspects of the Michael Rotunda. Becht-Jördens, “Text, Bild, Architektur,” pp. 89–90, provides an analysis of the esoteric meanings of the Michael Rotunda.

56. For the Michael cult in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, see John C. Arnold, “*Ego sum Michael*: The Origin and Diffusion of the Christian Cult of St. Michael the Archangel” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arkansas, 1997); and his “Arcadia Becomes Jerusalem: Angelic Caverns and Shrine Conversion at Monte Gargano,” *Speculum* 75, no. 3 (2000): 567–88. Ellger, *Michaelskirche zu Fulda*, pp. 71–81, also surveys the early medieval evidence for Michael as psychopomp (“Führer der Seelen der Verstorbenen”) and eschatological figure.

57. *VE* 17.6: “ut quique quater bina haec dicta Iesu complentes in hac ecclesia Christi sustentacula mereantur haberi” (p. 16); see also the verse *Vita* 21: “Quique quater bina haec complentes dicta Tonantis” (p. 70).

58. Crook, *Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints*, p. 147, suggests that the Fulda crypt was reserved for high prestige burials only. For the Michael Rotunda as a burial space for the abbots of Fulda, see Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” p. 162; and Ellger, *Michaelskirche zu Fulda*, pp. 104–16.

59. I would like to thank Aneilya Barnes and Natalie Hall for their indefatigable love of Candidus’s *Life of Eigil* and their willingness to read and enjoy ninth-century Latin, anywhere, anytime.

60. Chapter 2 of this book details Fulda’s building projects.

61. *VE* 24.2: “Non enim lectori supradictae inquietudinis tam crebra mentio calumnia videatur” (p. 19).

62. *VE* 24.2–3 (p. 19).

63. Concerning Baugulf’s election, departure, and replacement by Ratgar, Candidus has only this to say in the *VE* (3.2): “Cui namque successit Baugolfus, Germanicus eiusdem monasterii monachus. Hoc nimirum cessante Ratgarius eligitur in patrem mira concordia fratrum” (p. 5). Part of the reason for this omission, however, may stem from the fact that Eigil asked Candidus to craft a *vita* of Baugulf. See the *VE*, prologue 2.1 (p. 4); and the verse *Vita*, prologue 2 (p. 35).

64. *VE* 24.4: “Loth igitur uxor, cum incendia fugeret Sodomorum, versa est in statuum salis, ad condimentum scilicet fidelium, quia punitio rei eruditio est iusti” (p. 19).

65. For an overview of the metaphorical roles played by salt in Hebrew and Christian scripture, see Joel Marcus, *Mark 8–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Yale Bible, vol. 27A (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 692–93. I thank Professor Marcus (Duke Divinity School) for his instruction in the exegetical qualities of salt and the gift copy of his essential commentary on Mark.

66. I thank Professor Beth Schweiger for this reference to the gospel of Luke.

67. *VE* 24.5: “Sed et arbori siquidem infructuosae plerumque stercora circumfusa prodesse noscuntur” (p. 19).

68. The *Life* is quite explicit as to these divisions within the monastery. See *VE* 5 (pp. 6–7). The division between the junior and senior monks is discussed by Fried, “Fulda in der Bildungs- und Geistesgeschichte,” pp. 19–21.

69. *VE* 25.7 (p. 20).

70. *VE* 1.2: “ubi lex Divina iugi exercitatione discitur et docetur cum summa industria” (p. 5). See also the verse *VE* 2 (pp. 36–37):

Hic puer inberbis scholae defertur ad arcem,
Lex aeterna Dei semper qua munere Christi
Discitur a pueris seniorumque ore docetur.

71. *VE* 1.2: “Qui mox Divina gratia ministrante in tantum proficiebat cotidie in meditatione scientiarum scripturarum, ut etiam apes esurientes in colligendis floribus imitari videretur” (p. 5).

72. *VE* 2.1: “abbati suo videlicet carus et cunctae congregationi suavis, memoriam habens iustitiae Dei, quam docuit eum Deus a iuventute sua, ut adnuntiaret mirabilia eius” (p. 5).

73. Eigil was exiled by the emperor and subsequently freed through the petition of his comrades. See *VE* 23.1: “quod antecessorem suum, quem quondam cum sociis quasi persecutorem fugiendo vitabat, cum esset causa illius inquietudinis ab imperatore in exilium missus, una cum fratrum suorum petitione de exilio liberavit” (p. 19).

74. *VE* 6 (p. 8).

75. Eigil as Noah is discussed by Becht-Jördens, “Text, Bild, und Architektur,” p. 88.

76. For Ratgar as a unicorn, see the verse *VE* 5: “Hoc nam cessante successit monoceros, qui/Forte gregem sibi commissum, res faeda refertur” (p. 39).

77. For Ratgar as a lion, see *VE* 5.9, 24.1 (pp. 7, 19).

78. *VE* 5.6 (p. 7).

79. *VE* 5.8: “cum quali tribulatione corporum et animarum periculo degebamus simul in hoc monasterio sub abbate litigioso” (p. 7).

80. *VE* 3.2–3: “Ratgarius eligitur in patrem mira concordia fratrum. Quo iam decedente ob quandam discordiam, quam seminaverunt inter eum et fratres illius membra capitis omnium iurgiorum” (p. 5).

81. *VE* 9.2: “Vos igitur, patres, fratres et dilectissimi filii mei, scitis, sio et ego, novit etiam paene totum regnum meum, quanta pericula vos circumsteterunt ex tempore beatae memoriae Karoli, genitoris mei, usque huc” (p. 9).

82. *VE* 3.3 (p. 5).

83. Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, chap. 1.3, p. 290: “regnum esse veluti corpus quoddam et nunc isto, nunc illo incommodo iactari, nisi consilio et fortitudine velut quibusdam medicis sanitas accepta tutetur.”

84. Gregory the Great, *Regula pastoralis* 3.33, 1.11.

85. For the patristic vocabulary of sin as bodily swelling, see Jones, “Monastic Identity and Sodomitic Danger,” pp. 22–23.

86. *VE* 9.8: “quae igne iracundiae bullientes quasi aqua erumpunt foras et dispumant in corporis voluptatibus” (p. 10).

87. *VE* 9.16: “Contra hunc tumorem per Ecclesiasticum librum dicitur: ‘Ducem te constituerunt, noli extolli, sed esto in illis quasi unus ex illis.’ Hunc tumorem per Prophetam Dominus in pastoribus increpans ait: ‘Vos autem imperabatis eis cum austeritate et potentia’” (p. 11).

88. *VE* 9.12 (p. 10).

89. *VE* 10.2 (p. 11); see also the verse *Vita* 12 (p. 48).

90. *VE*, prologue 1.3: “Cuius commonitionem atque doctrinam, etsi ita, ut ab eo prolatae sunt, ad integrum explanare nequivi” (p. 3).

91. This image of Louis the Pious as a Benedictine reformer is in keeping with the theories of Thomas F. X. Noble, “The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious,” *Revue Bénédictine* 86 (1976): 235–50. See also Courtney M. Booker, *Past Convictions: The Penance of Louis the Pious and the Decline of the Carolingians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 226–29.

92. *VE* 3–4 (pp. 5–6). See also the verse *Vita* 7 (pp. 40–41).

93. *VE* 9.4: “Turpe est propter unius minas legem veritatis et locum sanctum tam facile dimittere” (p. 9).

94. *VE* 9.6: “Cura ergo disciplinae monachorum perfecta dilectio est” (p. 9).

95. *VE* 10.1: “Producite patrem, quem vobis elegistis, ut videam et sciam, quis sit” (p. 11). Language echoed in the verse *Vita* 12 (p. 48).

96. *VE* 10.4 (p. 12).

97. *VE* 10.5: “Immensa vero aedificia, pater, et opera non necessaria, quibus familiae foris et intus fratrum congregatio fatigatur, exhinc penitus ad mensuram dimitte” (p. 12).

98. Louis’s diatribe against excessive building is in *VE* 10.5–14 (pp. 12–13).

99. *VE* 10.13: “Sed timeo, ne, sicut serpens seduxit Evam astutia sua in deliciis paradisi Dei commanentem, ita per adulatores et accusatores, vasa scilicet intellegibilis serpentis, corrumpatur sensus tuus, quod absit, et abiiciaris cum animalibus tibi subiectis in locum miseriae et calamitatis” (p. 13).

100. *VE* 11 (pp. 13–14).

101. *VE* 12.1: “ut refectionem dignius propter hospites more solito praepararent” (p. 14).

102. *VE* 14.1: “Statim iussit adesse viros, qui rite ministrent/Undam, qui Cererem, Bacchum mensasque reponant” (p. 51).

103. *VE* 13.1: “pater Aegil a pontifice benedictus profectus est Fuldam” (p. 14).

104. *VE* 13.1 (p. 14).

105. *VE* 13.1: “cantans pariter cum illis more patrum canticum David hoc modo: ‘Ecce, quam bonum et iucundum habitare fratres in unum’” (p. 14).

106. *VE* 22.1–3 (p. 18).

107. *VE* 21.1–2 (p. 18).

108. *VE* 14.1: “coepit hic venerabilis vir magno Dei cultus amore ecclesiae mundare loca” (p. 15).

109. *VE* 14.1: “pavimenta refundi constituit, altaria nihilominus locis congruis fieri demandavit in summo lapidibus cooperta politis” (p. 15).

110. *VE* 14.1: “In eadem vero ecclesia duas cryptas magnifico opere conlocavit, unam, quae respicit solis ortum, alteram, quae solis occasum intendit” (p. 15). See also the verse *Vita* 15 (p. 54).

111. I wish to thank Professor Michael Swartz (Judaic Studies, Ohio State University) for this comparison.

112. Krautheimer (“Carolingian Revival,” p. 210) states that it is not certain if Ratgar had envisioned the addition of two crypts.

113. *VE* 15.2: “Venerunt nihilominus alii quam plurimi episcopi, abbates, presbyteri, comites ab abbate monasterii honorifice invitati. Insuper etiam fama vocante vulgus ordinis inferioris ad templi huius dedicationem e diverso veniens confluit in unum” (p. 15); see also the verse *Vita* 16 (p. 55).

114. On the orientation of early medieval cloisters, see Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 139–42.

115. *VE* 19.1–2 (p. 17).

116. *VE* 19.2: “propter vicinitatem martyris, qui in ea basilicae parte quiescit” (p. 17).

117. Verse *VE* 23 (p. 72):

Ast alii depromunt more Romano
Solis ad occasum satius, ubi martyr opimus
Pone iacet.

CHAPTER 6

1. Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, p. 15 (on the manuscript, Stiftsbibliothek MS 1092).

2. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 229–30.

3. McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 168. McClendon (pp. 163–72) summarizes the state of current scholarship on the Plan and analyzes its architectural forms.

4. Richard E. Sullivan, “What Was Carolingian Monasticism? The Plan of St. Gall and the History of Monasticism,” in Alexander Callander Murray (ed.), *After Rome’s Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 251–87; here at p. 268. Sullivan, however, rejects the notion that the Plan mirrors the Carolingian fondness for the encyclopedia, but he does so by overlooking the allegorical reading of the spatial arrangements.

5. See McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 170–71; Oyvind Norderval, “The Benedictine Transformation of the Roman Villa,” *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 16 (2002): 31–38; Jacobsen, “Die Anfänge des abendländischen Kreuzgangs”; and Caillet, “Atrium, péristyle et cloître.”

6. For a literary analysis of the Plan’s *tituli* (complete with a meticulous study of

their relations to Christian and classical texts), see Walter Berschin, “Der St. Galler Klosterplan als Literaturdenkmal,” in Peter Ochsenbein and Karl Schmuki (eds.), *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan II*, Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte 52 (Saint Gall: Historischer Verein des Kantons St. Gallen, 2002), pp. 107–49.

7. For Candidus and the *opus geminatum*, see Chapter 5. Hrabanus provides an eloquent rationale for the “twinning style”; see *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, pp. 225–26. His explanation is partially about aesthetics and partially about how prose clarifies the complexities of meter.

8. The interdisciplinary uses of the Plan discussed in Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, p. 11.

9. The entire manuscript of the Plan, complete with the ability to zoom into its every corner, is available online at <http://www.stgallplan.org/en/index.html>. This web site will enable readers to take their own virtual tour of the monastery while they read about how the architecture of the Plan of Saint Gall is gendered. The web site is the creation of scholars at the University of Virginia and the University of California, Los Angeles. Construction of the site is funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and is essential to any study of the Plan.

10. For early critiques of Horn and Born, see Warren Sanderson, “The Plan of St. Gall Reconsidered,” *Speculum* 60, no. 3 (1985): 615–32; and Lawrence Nees, “The Plan of St. Gall and the Theory of the Program of Carolingian Art,” *Gesta* 25, no. 1 (1986): 1–8. Consult also Sullivan, “What Was Carolingian Monasticism?”

11. Jacobsen surveys the historiographical record concerning the Plan, from its first art historical treatment in the nineteenth century up until the 1990s; see *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 24–33. In so doing, he demonstrates the degree to which Horn and Born’s theories stem from a long line of German scholars working on the Plan, including Keller, Dehio, Panofsky, Dopsch, Hecht, and Müller. This historiographical survey is invaluable to the scholar of the Plan. For the rectilinear, three-aisled basilica built at Saint Gall by Abbot Gozbert, see *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 176–85. Jacobsen summarizes how the Plan’s basilica relates to other, contemporary edifices; see *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 146–48. In a subsequent essay, Jacobsen further refined his historiographical treatment of the Plan; see Werner Jacobsen, “Der St. Galler Klosterplan—300 Jahre Forschung,” in Ochsenbein and Schmuki (eds.), *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan II*, pp. 13–56.

12. For a revisionist view of the relationship between the Plan and the Aachen synods, see Josef Semmler, “Die Reform geistlicher Gemeinschaften in der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts und der Klosterplan von St. Gallen,” in Ochsenbein and Schmuki (eds.), *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan II*, pp. 87–105.

13. Horn provides an overview of his theory of the Plan as a copy; see “The Plan of St. Gall—Original or Copy?” in Johannes Duft (ed.), *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan*, Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte 42 (Saint Gall: Fehr, 1962), pp. 103–27.

14. On the parchment—its five sectors and the evidence of erasures, corrections, and alterations—see Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 35–78.

15. For Jacobsen’s objections to Horn and Born’s enthusiasm for the square modular integrity of the Plan, see *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 12, 33, 330–31.

16. For the paleographical backdrop to the Plan, see Bernard Bischoff, “Die Entstehung des Klosterplanes in paläographischer Sicht,” in Duft (ed.), *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan*, pp. 67–78. Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 26, 32, 72–74, also discusses the paleographical evidence, including the *tituli* (p. 72); as does Berschin, “Der St. Galler Klosterplan als Literaturdenkmal,” pp. 107–49.

17. On the proposed date of 830, see Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 190, 327.

18. Ibid., pp. 28, 32, 327. For Müller’s work, see his “Die Altar-Tituli des Klosterplanes,” in Duft (ed.), *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan*, pp. 129–76, here p. 170. Hrabanus Maurus’s *tituli* composed on the occasion of the consecration of the Salvator basilica and its satellite buildings, however, suggest that there were relics of Saint Sebastian available in northern Europe before 826. See Hrabanus Maurus, *Tituli*, Ernst Dümmler (ed.), MGH Poetae 2, pp. 206, 221, 228, 230, and 233.

19. For the dedicatory inscription, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:16.

20. The high altar is dedicated to both Saint Gall and the Virgin Mary. The relics of Saint Gall were interred in the basilica’s crypt. The *titulus* for the crypt reads: “The tomb of the holy body.” For high altar/crypt *tituli*, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:29–30. Consult also McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 163; and Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, p. 23.

21. Jacobsen (*Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, p. 323) summarizes the correspondence between the Plan’s basilica and the one actually built by Gozbert in ca. 830–35.

22. Jacobsen (*Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 193–238) gives a meticulous survey of Carolingian “double-ender” basilicas (Fulda, Saint-Maurice d’Agaune, Cologne, and others).

23. Jacobsen rejects Haito as the creator of the Plan (and prefers Erlebold); see *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 327–28.

24. Jacobsen (*Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 15–21) takes the reader on an architectural tour of the entire complex.

25. Sullivan, “What Was Carolingian Monasticism?” pp. 275–76, reviews the evidence for the numbers of individuals the Plan could potentially house; Horn and Born do the same (*Plan of St. Gall* 1:vii, 113, 263).

26. “Has interque pedes denos moderare columnas”; for the *titulus*, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:19.

27. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 42–48, discusses the social organization of the Plan.

28. On the contrast between stone and timber building, see McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 169; and Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, p. 21. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 22, explains how the use of columns marks out space as both prestigious and sacred.

29. Discussed by Sullivan, “What Was Carolingian Monasticism?” pp. 271–72.

30. For the liturgical uses of the Carolingian double-ender (and its program to sepa-

rate lay and monastic practitioners), see Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 243–58; on the Carolingian liturgy (and its relationship to the Plan), see Angelus A. Häussling, “Liturgie in der Karolingerzeit und der St. Galler Klosterplan,” in Ochsenbein and Schmuki (eds.), *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan II*, pp. 151–83. For a general overview of the Carolingian liturgy within the context of church reform, see Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, pp. 327–48. For the proliferation of altars and saints’ relics in Carolingian basilicas, see Müller, “Die Altar-*Tituli* des Klosterplanes,” and Smith, “Old Saints, New Cults.” For architectural solutions to the Carolingian problem of separating holy man from pilgrim, see Crook, *Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints*, pp. 80–134.

31. The Plan’s evocation of the double-ender basilica was a typology favored by Carolingian designers. For a discussion of the Plan’s double-ender basilica within its architectural contexts and contemporary typologies, see Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 191–238.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

33. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:68.

34. Wallace-Hadrill characterizes the elite Roman *domus* as a “promiscuous” space because it accommodates male and female, rich and poor, and young and old; see his *Houses and Society*, p. 185.

35. See Chapter 5, n. 113.

36. The following analysis is indebted to the work of classicists and scholars of late antiquity who have investigated the relationship among class, gender, ethnicity, and spatial practice in Roman domestic architecture. See (among others) Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and Society*; and John R. Clarke, *Houses of Roman Italy, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 1–30. For a similar approach to the study of the hierarchies of space in the late Roman villa and *domus*, see Simon P. Ellis, “The End of the Roman House,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 92, no. 4 (1988): 565–76; Kate Cooper, “Closely Watched Households: Visibility, Exposure and Private Power in the Roman *Domus*,” *Past and Present* 197 (2007): 3–33; Aneilya Barnes, “Gender and Domestic Space in the First Christian Basilicas” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arkansas, 2007); Simon P. Ellis, “Power, Architecture, and Décor: How the Late Roman Aristocrat Appeared to His Guests,” in Elaine K. Gazda (ed.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Décor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), p. 117–34. See also Irving Lavin, “The House of the Lord: Aspects of the Role of the Palace Triclinia in the Architecture of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages” *Art Bulletin* 44, no. 1 (1962): 1–27.

37. The *titulus* for the entryway reads: “Omnibus ad scm turbis patet haec via templum quo sua vota ferant unde hilares redeant”; text in Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:17. For an architectural study of the monumental entryway to the Plan, see Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 132–39. Jacobsen notes that the design is “singular,” but that parts of it resonate with other Carolingian typologies, including the royal palace complex at Ingelheim (pp. 134–36) and the Cologne basilica built near the end of the eighth century (p. 136). Jacobsen rejects soundly earlier views that the round towers are the products of Celtic or Arabic cultural influences (*Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, p. 136).

38. For the *titulus* on the *paradisus*, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:30. On the *paradisus* of Old Saint Peter's, see McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 158. For the derivation of the term, see Jean-Charles Picard, "Les origines du mot *paradisus-parvis*," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen Âge, Temps Modernes* 83 (1971): 158–86. Picard notes that by the eighth century, *paradisus* had come to mean an atrium-like space connected to a basilica carrying with it the concept of paradise as well as associations with Old Saint Peter's in Rome; during the Carolingian era, the term was associated with monastic basilicas such as the one depicted on the Plan (p. 168).

39. For the *tituli* enjoining silence on elite and lower-class visitors, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:33–34.

40. For the monumental entryway to the Plan and its two towers, see Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 17, 44–51.

41. McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 168; Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 134–36. See also Lobbedey, "Carolingian Royal Palaces," pp. 138–43; Ross Samson, "Carolingian Palaces and the Poverty of Ideology," in Martin Locock (ed.), *Meaningful Architecture: Social Interpretations of Buildings* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1994), pp. 99–131; and McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, pp. 157–71.

42. Most famously in Hrabanus Maurus's *figura* of Louis the Pious in the guise of the archangel Michael in his *In honorem sanctae crucis*.

43. The *titulus* informs the viewer that the towers provide a vantage point for surveillance: "Ascensus per c'locleam ad universa super inspicienda"; see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:35.

44. RB 19.6; text in Fry (ed.), *RB 1980*, p. 216 (Latin) and p. 217 (English).

45. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 2:145, 153.

46. For the hospice's *tituli*, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:70–71.

47. Fredrick, "Mapping Penetrability," p. 253.

48. On the spaces for invited and uninvited guests, see Vitruvius, *De architectura* 6.5.1, trans. Rowland, pp. 80–81. For Carolingian use of Vitruvius, see Anat Tcherikover, "A Carolingian Lesson in Vitruvius," in Eric Ferney and Paul Crossley (eds.), *Medieval Architecture and Its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), pp. 259–67.

49. For the monastic ritual of washing the feet of guests, see Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 502.

50. For an analysis of the Plan within the context of Hildemar's commentary, see Von P. Wolfgang Hafner, "Der St. Galler Klosterplan im Lichte von Hildemars Regelkommentar," in Duft (ed.), *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan*, pp. 177–92.

51. Crook, *Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints*, pp. 136–38, discusses the design of the Saint Gall crypt. He notes that the staircases descending into the subterranean space do not extend directly from the north and south aisles, but exist as vaulted corridors positioned just off the arcades (p. 136).

52. For the *tituli* marking the elite guesthouse, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:44–47.

53. Horn and Born (*Plan of St. Gall*, 1:269–71) discuss the origins of this usual—and contested—term: *toregma*, pl., *toregmata*.
54. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 2:146–51.
55. McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 106–7.
56. For the *titulus* marking the stables, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:46.
57. McClendon, *Origins of Medieval Architecture*, p. 169.
58. For the spatial arrangements of the *domus*, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 2:146–51. McClendon (*Origins of Medieval Architecture*, pp. 169–70) reads the space in terms of its classed divisions.
59. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, p. 176.
60. For the external school on the Plan within the larger context of monastic education in the early Middle Ages, see Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 57–62.
61. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:49: “saepius in girum ductis sic cingitur aula.”
62. For a discussion of the abbot’s *aula*, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:310–
24. For the accompanying *tituli*, consult *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:49–51.
63. *Ibid.*, 3:49.
64. It is a reasonable theory put forward by Horn, *ibid.*, 1:322.
65. De Jong, “Charlemagne’s Balcony,” p. 279.
66. Sexton, “Justice Seen,” p. 323. Alfred Frazer identified the presence of a low socle as well as the arcade (rather than a trabeation) as indices of the medieval cloister’s departure from classical Greco-Roman courtyard design. The medieval design was anticipated in late imperial architecture by the peristyle in Maxentius’s complex on the Via Appia in Rome; see Frazer, “Modes of European Courtyard Design.”
67. A capitulary promulgated by Charlemagne in Aachen in 809 required that a shelter be erected in both summer and winter so that legal proceedings might be observed in them: “Ut in locis ubi mallos publicos habere solent, tectum tale constituatur, quod in hiberno et in aestate ad placitos observandos usus esse possit”; text in Alfred Boretius (ed.), *MGH Capit.* 1, p. 149.
68. Sexton, “Justice Seen,” p. 323.
69. Charles Burroughs, *The Italian Renaissance Palace Façade: Structures of Authority, Surfaces of Sense* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 54, argues that Renaissance palace façades engage in this same sort of visual duplicity by masking the luxuries of their interiors through rusticated and austere exteriors.
70. For the cloister *tituli*, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:81–82.
71. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 89.
72. Ekkehart, *Casus sancti Galli* 136; text in von Knonau (ed.), pp. 226–27; cited and translated in Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:280–81 n. 166.
73. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 183–84.
74. For a discussion of Carolingian monastic diets and the spaces devoted to harvesting crops and preparing food, see Phyllis Pray Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 201–17.
75. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:263.

76. On the heating system of the dormitory, see *ibid.*, 1:260.
77. For the early medieval *lectio* within the context of Saint Gall, see Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 155–97.
78. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:40.
79. On feasting in the Carolingian period, see Michel Rouche, “Les repas de fête à l’époque carolingienne,” in Denis Menjot (ed.), *Manger et boire au Moyen Âge: Acts du Colloque de Nice (15–19 octobre 1982)*, vol. 1, *Aliments et société* (Nice: Belles Lettres), pp. 265–79.
80. For the *titulus* inscribed on the visitors’ table, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:39: “ad sedendu cu hospitibus.”
81. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:249–58, provides a detailed discussion of both the warming room on the ground floor and the upper-floor dormitory.
82. Hildemar, *Expositio*, pp. 332, 408.
83. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:262. On medieval water systems, see Roberta J. Magnusson, *Water Technology in the Middle Ages: Cities, Monasteries, and Waterworks After the Roman Empire* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).
84. Horn and Born (*Plan of St. Gall*, 2:300–313) include an entire section on the Saint Gall privies and their contexts. They even provide an analysis of the ratio of toilet seats to the number of users (pp. 302–3).
85. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:86. On Carolingian monastic gardens, see Walahfrid Strabo, *De cultura hortorum*, in Ernst Dümmler (ed.), *MGH Poetae 2* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884), pp. 335–50.
86. For the cemetery’s *tituli*, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:85–87.
87. *VE* 24.5: “Sed et arbori siquidem infructuosae plerumque stercora circumfusa prodessse noscuntur” (p. 19).
88. The below discussion is indebted to Horn and Born’s meticulous treatment of the novitiate/infirmarium: *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:310–21; *tituli* in *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:54–60.
89. The oblates probably did not sleep in the novitiate, however. See Grotans, *Reading in Medieval St. Gall*, pp. 60–61.
90. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:314. Horn and Born view the absence of a privy as an error on the part of the Plan’s designer.
91. *Ibid.*, 3:59.
92. *Ibid.*, 1:311.
93. Garipzanov, *Symbolic Language of Authority*, pp. 74–83, discusses the presence of the laity in monastic basilicas of the Carolingian era.
94. Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:127.
95. On the position of catechumens in early Christian basilicas in Rome, see Holmoway, *Constantine and Rome*, pp. 61, 72–73.
96. Jacobsen takes his reader on a tour where the lay body could penetrate within the hallowed precincts of the Saint Gall basilica; see “Der St. Galler Klosterplan—300 Jahre Forschung,” pp. 47–52. Overall, he argues (p. 52) that the space was “lay friendly” (*laienfreundlich*) and “lay open” (*laienoffen*).

97. “Hic Petrus eclā pastor sortitur honorē”; text in Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 3:23.

98. For the Carolingian liturgy of baptism and the role of godparents in it, see Joseph H. Lynch, *Godparents and Kinship in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 285–304.

99. Smith, “Women at the Tomb,” p. 172. See also the essential work of Janet L. Nelson, “Les femmes et l’évangélisation au IXe siècle,” *Revue du Nord* 69 (1986): 471–83; and Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, “Gender, Celibacy, and Proscriptions of Sacred Space: Symbol and Practice,” in Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury (eds.), *Women’s Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), pp. 185–205.

100. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 505.

101. Aachen 817, cap. 17: “Ut puerum pater et mater altari tempore oblationis offerant et petitionem pro eo coram laicis testibus faciant quam et tempore intelligibili ipse puer confirmet” (p. 477).

102. For a detailed architectural study of the crypt on the Plan, see Jacobsen, *Klosterplan von St. Gallen*, pp. 112–20. Jacobsen identifies the typology as a *Winkelgangkrypta*, “corridor crypt” or “rectilinear ring crypt,” not unlike the one built at Corvey in the 820s. On the *Winkelgangkrypta*, see also Crook, *Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints*, pp. 107–20. Crook views the crypt on the Plan as a hall crypt (pp. 136–38).

103. Häussling, “Liturgie in der Karolingerzeit,” pp. 159–63, surveys the altars and their spatial positioning on the Plan as well as the theological/historical subtexts of their arrangement.

104. For the spatial arrangements of Saint-Riquier, see Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics at Saint-Riquier*.

105. “Nutricis gremium subito liquisse puellam/sponte trucus calcasse minas rabiemque tyranni”; see Damasus, *Epigrams*, Ferrúa (ed.), p. 176.

106. For the relationship between the Holy Innocents and Christian views on baptism, see Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200–1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 133–36.

107. I wish to thank Brent Harbaugh for this point.

108. “Saints’ cults tended to cut the boundaries that separated the laity from the clergy, men from women, rich from poor”; see Rosenwein, “Inaccessible Cloisters,” p. 186. For the classic theory of how pilgrimage forces the bodies of its practitioners into liminal status, see Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).

CHAPTER 7

1. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, Perrin (ed.), CCCM 100, p. 33: “Quartus quippe in radice pedis dextri exterius incipiens, inter media crura ascendens ad radicem usque pedis sinistri exterius pervenit.” All translations from *In honorem sanctae*

crucis are my own in consultation with Perrin's translations of Hrabanus's poetry into French in his CCCM 100 and his *Louanges de la sainte croix*.

2. Ibid.: "Aeternus Dominus deduxit ad astra beatos." Dutton (*Charlemagne's Mustache*, pp. 115–19) discusses Carolingian views on the astral landscape of the afterlife.

3. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 33: "Rex Regum et Dominus Dominorum."

4. Ibid.: "Iste est Rex Iustitiae."

5. Ibid.: "Ordo iustus Deo."

6. Ibid.: "In cruce namque quae iuxta caput eius posita est, sunt tres litterae, hoc est, α , μ , et ω , quod significat initium et medium et finem ab ipso omnia comprehendendi."

7. *Expositiones in Leviticum*, PL 108, col. 327: "Et si Christi caput, secundum Pauli verbum, divinitas intelligitur, non frustra tamen nec extra ordinem in hoc mysterio sacerdotis ungi nunc caput legislator scripsit, ut cognoscamus quoniam quemadmodum caput a pedibus dividi non potest, sic neque Christi divinitas post unionem ab humanitate dividitur. . . . Secundum hunc modum, caput intelligibilis sacerdotis ungebatur et ipse sanctificabatur."

8. In *figura* 17, Hrabanus positions each of the eight Beatitudes on the form of a cross. At the base, he places the blessed poor of Christ: "regna poli dominus vult pauperis esse beati"; on the "head" zone of the cross, he places the martyrs: "pro Christo afflictos regnum iam spectat Olympi"; see Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 143.

9. Ibid., p. 32: "Dextra Dei summi cuncta creavit Iesus."

10. Ibid., p. 33: "Christus laxabit e sanguine debita mundo."

11. Ibid.: "In cruce sic positus desolvens vincla tyranni."

12. Ferrari (*Liber sanctae crucis*, pp. 353–55) discusses Hrabanus's use of the "left" versus "right" in the poem and its relationship to the early medieval liturgy, spatial practices, and gendered subtexts. See also Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis* 6.1 (PL 111, cols. 158–59), for an exegesis of right versus left.

13. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 33: "Atque salvitiferam dederat Deus arce coronam." This acrostic ascends from the left heel up to the knee and then on to the middle of the stomach and then to the left arm, concluding at the left *medicus*.

14. Ibid.: "Veste quidem parva hic tegitur qui continent astra,/Atque solum palmo claudit ubique suo." Nelson, "Bodies and Minds," p. 24, discusses the poetry Hrabanus inscribes on the body of the Savior.

15. Ferrari (*Liber sanctae crucis*, p. 323) argues that by inscribing *d*, *e*, and *o* in three significant places on the body of Christ crucified—his two nipples and belly button—Hrabanus is underscoring the primordial physicality of the divine filiation. Chazelle also discusses the *d-e-o* inscription on Christ's nipples and umbilicus: "No single aspect of the figure in Poem 1, however, symbolizes the union between the divine and the human better than the three letters of the word *Deo* designating Jesus' nipples and navel, the last-named attribute one of the strongest imaginable proofs of his human birth" (*Crucified God*, p. 118).

16. Hrabanus's verse calls attention to the *medicus*: "Tertius item a quarto digito dextrae manus, qui medicus vocatur" (*In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 33). Corbeill (*Nature Embodied*, pp. 23–24) surveys classical views on the *medicus*. For the early medieval compilation of classical knowledge on the fourth finger, see Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 11.1.71: "Quartus anularis, eo quod in ipso anulus geritur. Idem et medicinalis, quod eo trita collyria a medicis colliguntur." Here, Isidore reproduces the work of Roman naturalist Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 30.108).

17. For Hrabanus's exegetical views on the medical arts and Christ as a spiritual doctor, see Frederick S. Paxton, "Curing Bodies—Curing Souls: Hrabanus Maurus, Medical Education, and the Clergy in Ninth-Century Francia," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 50 (1995): 230–52.

18. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 228: "En indutus veste Christus veritas quid mystice significet exponam. Vestis quoque Christi lex divina est, quae vili tegmine litterarum auctorem rerum omnia continentem quodammodo amplectitur."

19. Hrabanus discusses the spiritual significance of the number twenty eight in terms of the Tabernacle curtains in *De rerum naturis* 18.3 (PL 111, col. 492): "Viginti octo numerus ad legis et Evangelii pertinet mysterium, sub cuius numeri sacramento cortinae tabernaculi eiusdem numeri cubitos in longitudine habuisse feruntur in Exodo."

20. For a gendered readings of Yahveh's body, see Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, *God's Phallus and Other Problems for Men and Monotheism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994), esp. chap. 3, "The Averted Gaze," pp. 59–80.

21. *Expositiones in Leviticum*, PL 108, col. 403: "Quid est sermo, nisi semen?" For a full treatment of Hrabanus's exegesis of Leviticus and its gendered subtexts, see Coon, "What Is the Word If Not Semen?"

22. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, pp. 98–99: "Ergo in capite, id est, in culmine sanctae crucis, sit positus liber Geneseos"; "In ima vero parte crucis, hoc est, in pede, sit positus novissimus quinque librorum legis, id est, Deuteronomium"; "Exodus vero bene in dextra ponitur"; "In sinistra quoque liber Numerus est positus"; "At Leviticus, in medio omnium stans, crucis medietatem tenet." Figure of the Torah is discussed in Perrin, *Louanges de la sainte croix*, p. 119.

23. Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 116–18, notes the absence of the cross from Hrabanus's famous image of the Crucified One.

24. For Jewish mystical musings on the incarnate Torah, see Elliot R. Wolfson, "The Glorious Name and the Incarnate Torah," in Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler (eds.), *The Jewish Study Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 1979–90.

25. See Daniel Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture*, New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics 25 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 135; Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, "The Nakedness of a Woman's Voice, the Pleasure in a Man's Mouth: An Oral History of Ancient Judaism," in Howard Eilberg-Schwartz and Wendy Doniger (eds.), *Off with Her Head! The Denial of Women's Identity in Myth, Religion, and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 165–84; and Steven Fine,

“From Meeting House to Sacred Realm: Holiness and the Ancient Synagogue,” in Steven Fine (ed.), *Sacred Realm: The Emergence of the Synagogue in the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 33.

26. On the gender dynamics of Torah study in late antiquity, see Boyarin, *Carnal Israel*, p. 196.

27. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 30: “Os Dei est, quia verbum est eius.”

28. For Christ’s allegorical designations, see *ibid.*, pp. 27–33 (verse), 227–29 (prose).

29. *Ibid.*, p. 17: “quae columna est caelestis aedificii, in qua videlicet constructa est domus Christi.”

30. Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis* 18.3 (PL III, col. 492): “Viginti octo numerus ad legis et Evangelii pertinet mysterium.”

31. Hrabanus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 221: “qui numerus intra centenarium suis partibus perfectus est, ideoque iuxta huius summam opus consummare volui, quia illam formam in eo cantavi quae consummatix et perfectio rerum est.”

32. On the numerology of Hrabanus’s acrostics, see Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, pp. 128–29; on the Plan’s numerology, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:118–25; and Rabe, *Faith, Art, and Politics*, pp. 8–10.

33. Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 105, offers an exegetical reading of these angelic figures. For the *figura* and its accompanying poetry/prose descriptions, see Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, pp. 50–55, 234–36.

34. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 37: “Ast haec figura crucem Christi in quattuor cornibus cuncta complecti praedicat, sive quae in caelis, sive quae in terra, sive quae sub terra sunt, omnia videlicet visibilia atque invisibilia, viventia et non viventia.”

35. For the Carolingian contribution to the liturgical maze, see Craig Wright, *The Maze and the Warrior: Symbols in Architecture, Theology, and Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 20–27.

36. Ganz, “Book Production and the Spread of Carolingian Miniscule,” pp. 796–97.

37. Beatus, *Adversus Elipandum* 1.66; text in Bengt Löfstedt (ed.), *Beati Liebanensis et eterii Oxomensis: Adversus Elipandum libri duo*, CCCM 59 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), p. 50: “Quid est haec littera, quam in evangelio legis vel in ceteris scripturis sanctis, nisi corpus Christi, nisi caro Christi, quae ab omnibus Christianis comeditur? Et tunc comeditur, quando legitur et quando auditur.” This passage is translated and discussed by Ganz, “Book Production and the Spread of Carolingian Miniscule,” p. 797. The Carolingian esoteric perception of writing stems from the exegetical corpus of Origen of Alexandria, who argues that each word of scripture possesses a “body, soul, and spirit.”

38. Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, Bedae Paulus (ed.), CCCM 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), cap. 3, pp. 26–27: “deinde virtute ipsius Christi corpore cotidie pascimur et potamur sanguine” and “Quo nimirum vegetati gustu ad immortalia et aeterna praeparemur, quatinus spiritaliter iam angelica gratia saginati in eo vivificemur.”

Translated in George E. McCracken and Allen Cabaniss (eds.), *Early Medieval Theology*, Library of Christian Classics 9 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957), pp. 100–101. For the theological issues involved in Paschasius's treatise on the body and blood of Christ, see Fulton, *Judgment to Passion*, pp. 12–16.

39. For the influence of Virgil and Lucan, see Perrin, *Louanges de la sainte croix*, p. 143. For Horace's advice on how to translate poetry, see Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 225: "Hoc et idem Horatius, vir acutus et doctus, in Arte poetica erudito interpreti praecepit" dicens: 'Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus/Interpres' [*Ars poetica* 133–34]." For Porphyry as master of word scattering and Lucretius on meter and scansion, see CCCM 100, p. 19: "quod idem et Porphyrius fecit, secundum cuius exemplar litteras spargere didici." Porphyry's acrostics are discussed in W. Levitan, "Dancing at the End of the Rope: Optatian Porphyry and the Field of Roman Verse," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 115 (1985): 245–69. Levitan (p. 246) notes that other early medieval churchmen, such as Bede, found Optatian's acrostics too pagan for Christian use.

40. Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 110.

41. Chazelle situates Hrabanus's meditative work on the Holy Cross within the context of Ratgar's rule and its interruption of Fulda's tradition of the liturgical veneration of Christ's cross (*ibid.*, 114–15).

42. For the manuscript history of Hrabanus's *In honorem sanctae crucis*, see Perrin's introduction to the text, CCCM 100, pp. xxx–lviii.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. xx–xvi, discusses the various recipients of Hrabanus's *opus geminatum*; see also Ferrari *Liber sanctae crucis*, pp. 23–29; and Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 101. On Eberhard as one of Hrabanus's lay readers, see Paul J. E. Kershaw, "Eberhard of Friuli, a Carolingian Lay Intellectual," in Wormald and Nelson (eds.), *Lay Intellectuals*, pp. 77–105, here pp. 89–90.

44. For the problem of images in the Carolingian world, see Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*; Thomas F. X. Noble, "The Vocabulary of Vision and Worship in the Early Carolingian Period," in Giselle de Nie, Karl F. Morrison, and Marco Mostert (eds.), *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 213–37; William J. Diebold, *Word and Image: An Introduction to Early Medieval Art* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 2000), pp. 99–137; and Winfried Wilhelmy, "Die Entstehung von *De laudibus* im Spannungsfeld von Bilderstreit und Glaubenswahrheit," in Kotzur (ed.), *Rabanus Maurus*, pp. 22–32.

45. Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, p. 414: "Essa non viene lasciata a se stessa, bensì imbrigliata e controllata dalla scrittura."

46. Noted by Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, p. 353.

47. For Hrabanus's poem within the Christological and iconoclastic debates of the ninth century, see Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, pp. 347–51, and Chazelle, *Crucified God*, pp. 118–31. Rabe (*Faith, Art, and Politics*, pp. 21–51) also provides a survey of late eight-century Carolingian theological controversies.

48. For the classic study in English, see Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987).

49. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 17: “in laudem sanctae crucis expensas, quae columna est caelestis aedificii, in qua videlicet constructa est domus Christi.”

50. De Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis*, 1:111.

51. For the motif of the one thousand Buddhas, see Elizabeth ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999), p. 8.

52. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 238: “Haec enim iunctio ad latera sanctae crucis .IIII. tetragonorum hoc signat, et omine sacro revelat nobis intellectum, ut sciamus quo nos via recta et ductor optimus iubeat ire, hoc est ad possidendum regnum perpetuum: omnes utique quos Christi visitatio sua mansione inlustrans, templum Deo dicare dignatur, et cum his sanctis parietibus in semetipsum lapidem angularem coadunans, ad perfectionem caelestis aedificii perducet.”

53. *Ibid.*, p. 59: “In hac igitur pagina crux sancta per medium tendit, quattuor quadrangulas formas circa latera eius positas habens: ad ostendendum utique caelestis aedificii structuram, Ecclesiae videlicet Dei vivi, quae et domus eius est, columna et firmamentum veritatis. Ad hanc ergo domum pertinent electi angeli, quorum nobis similitudo in futura vita promittitur.”

54. Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 231–32, connects the visual prompts of medieval memory systems with the mandalas of Buddhist and Hindu esoteric practice. For the use of mandalas in world religions, see Martin Brauen, *The Mandala* (Boston: Shambhala, 1997); as well as Miranda Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 381, 394–99; Denise Patry Leidy and Robert Thurman, *Mandala: The Architecture of Enlightenment* (Boston: Shambhala, 1998). Brauen (*The Mandala*, pp. 11–13) provides an introduction to the meaning and use of mandalas, as do Leidy and Thurman (*Mandala*, pp. 17–47). For mandalas in medieval Japanese Buddhism, see Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, pp. 2–9.

55. Brauen, *The Mandala*, p. 11.

56. Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, p. 4.

57. For a cross-cultural, cross-religious treatment of Tibetan and Native American mandalas, see Peter Gold, *Navajo and Tibetan Sacred Wisdom: The Circle of the Spirit* (Rochester, Vt.: Inner Traditions, 1994).

58. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 61: bottom left, “te patriarcharum laudabilis actio signat”; bottom right, “plebsque prophetarum divino famine iussa”; top left, “agmen apostolicum pandit tua rite tropaea”; and top right, “martyrum et ipse chorus effuso iure cruore.”

59. For *figura* 7 and its placement of “earth” at the foot of the cross and “fire” at its top, see *ibid.*, p. 71.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

61. *Ibid.*: “Si ergo ille templum Dei per assumptam humanitatem factus est, et nos templum Dei per inhabitantem spiritum eius efficimur, constat utique quia figuram omnium nostrum et ipsius videlicet Domini, et membrorum eius quae nos sumus, templum

illud materiale tenuit, quod Salomon rex aedificavit in Hierusalem; sed ipsius tamquam lapidis angularis singulariter electi et pretiosi in fundamento fundati; nostri autem tamquam lapidum vivorum superaedificatorum super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum, hoc est super ipsum Dominum.”

62. For Origen’s views on the virginal bodies of Christians and their angelic counter-culture, see Brown, *Body and Society*, p. 171. For Hrabanus and Origen, see Coon, “What Is the Word If Not Semen?”

63. Smith, “Introduction: Gendering the Early Medieval World,” p. 16.

64. For angels and eunuchs in Byzantium, see Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), chap. 7, “Transcending the Material World: Eunuchs and Angels,” pp. 143–62.

65. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 190: “Ecce unusquisque .IIII. pentagonorum .XXXVI. litteras continet.”

66. Hrabanus makes it clear that *figura* 24 is about the offspring of Israel and Revelation’s troop of virginal males: “Continet ergo haec figura sanctae crucis in .IIII. pentagonis formata, numerum .C.XL.III. litterarum, in .IIII. versibus conscriptum: secundum cuius pluralitatem millenario multiplicato in Apocalypsi multitudo illa signatorum, ex omni tribu filiorum Israhel computatur, numerusque ille albatorum, qui cum agno supra montem Sion stabant, denotatur” (ibid., p. 187).

67. Dale Martin, *Sex and the Single Savior*, pp. 109–11, provides an analysis of the all-male ascetic community envisioned by the author of Revelation.

68. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 277: “Quapropter probatissimus et perfectissimus ordo virginum, qui in diverso sexu et in dissimili aetate in mundo caelestem conversationem agebas, ab omni fornicationis inquinamento alienus, et ab omni spurcitia diaboli immunis, per officium oris ac devotionem cordis, gestumque corporis placidas laudes Deo decanta.”

69. Ibid., p. 191: top pentagon, “inmaculata cohors cantas tu vocibus illic”; bottom pentagon, “rex ubi Iesus ovat quo pascit virginis agnus”; right pentagon, “carmina quae nullus diffuso fame cantat”; and left pentagon, “hic vester grex ni solus et splendidus ordo.”

70. For early medieval kinship systems within the context of the Carolingian middle Rhine (and including the monasteries of Lorsch and Fulda), see Innes, *State and Society*, chap. 3, “Land, Kinship, and Status,” pp. 51–93.

71. For Carolingian practices of keeping necrologies, see Raaijmakers, “Sacred Time, Sacred Space,” pp. 21–55.

72. Morrison, “Music in the Carolingian Renaissance,” p. 442.

73. Angenendt, *Das Frühmittelalter*, pp. 344–45.

74. Hildemar, *Expositio*, p. 287.

75. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 193:

Disposui signis, disperso et tramite cantus
Inserui angelicos, intexi et versibus aptis.

Nempe Amen in medio vitae signacula spondet.
 Alleluia crucis circumdans cornua conplet,
 Et sacram effigiem caelesti carmine signat.

76. Ibid., p. 71.

77. Ibid., p. 72: “Cur vero in rotis quattuor elementa sive quattuor tempora seu quattuor plagas mundi depinxerim, haec ratio est, quia omnis mundi machina temporalis est, et quadam permixtione elementorum atque successu temporum variabilis sive mutabilis, Salomone attestante, qui ait: *Omnia tempus habent, et suis spatiis transeunt universa sub caelo.*”

78. Ibid., p. 73.

79. Carson, “Putting Her in Her Place,” p. 138.

80. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 71: “Recte igitur quaternarium numerum perfectione sacratum paene nullus ignorat.”

81. Ibid., p. 154: “Nam in illa tria sunt, unde etiam toto corde, tota anima, tota mente diligendus est Deus, in corpore autem manifestissima quattuor apparent, quibus constat, elementa.”

82. Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis* 6.1 (PL 111, col.142): “Nam terra in carne est, aer in halitu, humor in sanguine, ignis in calore vitali. Habent enim in nobis elementa suam quaeque partem”; see also Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 11.1.16.

83. Hrabanus, *De rerum naturis* 6.1; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 4.5; see also his *Liber differentiarum* 2.48–49 (PL 83, cols. 77–78).

84. Hrabanus, *De rerum naturis* 6.1; see also Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* 11.1.16.

85. On how monastic rituals of bloodletting lessen the excess of blood—and hence an overly amorous disposition—and work to curb nocturnal emissions in men, see Yearl, “Time of Bloodletting,” pp. 95, 125, 137–40, 182–83.

86. For an anthropological model of understanding mandalas as “cosmic maps,” see John Gray, *Domestic Mandala: Architecture of Lifeworlds in Nepal* (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 18–25.

87. As Fulda’s cloister lacks complete architectural and archaeological investigation as to its scale and orientation, it is, unfortunately, impossible to use as a source for the comparison with Hrabanus’s *figurae*.

88. Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, p. 217. For the benches on the north wall of the cloister walk, see Horn and Born, *Plan of St. Gall*, 1:248–49, 3:81. The *titulus* accompanying the bench reads: “hinc pia consilium pertract & turba salubra” (“Here let the pious group hold their wholesome deliberations”).

89. For classical *memoria* systems, see Bergmann, “Roman House as Memory Theater,” p. 225; Yates, *Art of Memory*, pp. 1–26; for the cloister as a memory machine, see Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 272–76.

90. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 21:

Musa cita studio gaudens nunc dicere numen
 Nostra cupit, pariter carmine et alloquiis,

Dona patris summi, quae largus reddidit orbi
Regis et altithroni sancta trophaea simul.

91. Ibid.: “Hanc ego pauper, egenus, inops, en ore, loquella/Temptavi hic famulus sons dare et hoc oriar.”

92. On the power of the Buddha to fill every pore of the universe, see Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, p. 8.

93. Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* 1.23 (p. 315): “ut ipso indutus pontifex a tergo et pectore crucem habeat, suaque mente pie et digne de passione redemptoris cogitet ac populo, pro quo deum deprecatur.” On the percentage of Carolingian monks who were also priests, see de Jong, *In Samuel’s Image*, p. 139. De Jong notes that during Hrabanus’s abbacy, roughly 70 percent of the monastic community of over 603 monks was in major orders.

94. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, p. 286: “minimus omnium servorum tuorum et peccator Hrabanus, hymnis et laudibus, corde, ore, manu et totius corporis gestu.” In his treatise on rhetoric addressed to the emperor Charlemagne, Alcuin too stresses the full use of the body in the art of oratory. See Alcuin, *De rhetorica*, pp. 140–41.

95. See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 11.3.2: “adfectus omnes languescant necesse est, nisi voce, vultu, totius proper habitu corporis inardescunt.”

96. *De institutione clericorum* 1.3 (p. 295): “Primitus, ut formam et similitudinem Christi in capite gestaret, dum pro redemptione nostra crucis patibulum subiturus a nefanda iudeorum gente acutis spinarum aculeis crudeliter coronaretur.”

97. Hrabanus Maurus, *In honorem sanctae crucis*, CCCM 100, pp. 217, 286.

98. “Et custodiens se omni hora a peccatis et vitiis, id est cogitationum, linguae, manuum, pedum vel voluntatis propriae sed et desideria carnis”; text in Fry (ed.), pp. 192–94 (Latin) and pp. 193–95 (English).

99. The apocalyptic subtext of this self-image of Hrabanus is discussed in Ferrari, *Liber sanctae crucis*, p. 156; see also Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 109.

100. Hrabanus clarifies the end goal of the ascetic game in the poetic prologue to *In honorem sanctae crucis* (CCCM 100, p. 17): “offerebam has primitias, in laudem sanctae crucis expensas.” The passage is discussed in Chazelle, *Crucified God*, p. 109.

EPILOGUE

1. Hrabanus Maurus, Homily 39, *In dedicatione Templi*; text in Migne (ed.), PL 110, cols. 73–74. This passage is discussed in Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, pp. 275–76.

2. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire*, pp. 100–101.

3. De Jong, “Charlemagne’s Balcony,” p. 279.

4. Martin, *Sex and the Single Savior*, p. 110.

5. Fredrick, “Mapping Penetrability,” p. 257.

6. Wright, *Maze and the Warrior*, pp. 20–21.

7. Brown, *Lindisfarne Gospels*, pp. 77–78, 324–25, 398.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 306–7.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 398.
11. Question asked by my colleague Professor Elizabeth Markham who works on medieval Japanese Buddhist chant and its embodiment in material forms including mandalas.
12. Noble, *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*, pp. 347–51.
13. Nelson, “Bodies and Minds.”

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Closer to home here in the Ozarks, *Dark Age Bodies* could come into being only with the pious care of Eric N. Coon. This book is dedicated to Suzanne, who is missed.